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THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

JANUARY 1860.

ART. I.—MR. KINGSLEY'S LITERARY EXCESSES.

Miscellanies. By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. 2 vols. J. W. Parker.

THERE are two living English writers who, wide as the poles asunder in many points, have yet several marked characteristics in common, and whom we confess to regarding with very similar sentiments—Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Kingsley. Both are eminent; both are popular; both have exercised, and are still exercising, a very unquestionable influence over their contemporaries: unquestionable, that is, as to degree; questionable enough, unhappily, as to kind. Of both we have frequently had occasion to speak with respect and admiration. We read them much, and recur to them often; but seldom without mixed feelings, provocation, disappointment, and regret. We constantly lay them down outraged beyond endurance by their faults, and mentally forswearing them in future; we as constantly take them up again in spite of vow and protest, drawn back into the turbid vortex by the force of their resistless fascinations. In short, we feel and act towards them as men may do towards women whom they at once delight in, admire, and condemn; who perpetually offend their purer taste and grate against their finer sensibilities, but whose noble qualities and whose meretricious charms are so strangely vivid and so marvellously blended, that they can shake themselves free from neither. For Mr. Kingsley we have long ago expressed our hearty appreciation; but there is a time to appreciate, and a time to criticise. Standing as he now does at the zenith of

his popularity, it is the fit time to speak of his shortcomings with that frankness which is the truest respect.

The historian of *Frederick the Great* and the author of *Hypatia* have many points of resemblance, but always with a variation. They are cast in the same mould, but fashioned of different clays and animated by different spirits. Both are terribly in earnest; but Kingsley's is the earnestness of youthful vigour and a sanguine temper, Carlyle's is the profound cynicism of a bitter and a gloomy spirit. He is, if not the saddest, assuredly the most saddening of writers,—the very Apostle of Despair. Both seem penetrated to the very core of their nature with the sharpest sense of the wrongs and sufferings of humanity; but the one is thereby driven to preach a crusade of vengeance on their authors, the other a crusade of rescue and deliverance for their victims. Mr. Kingsley's earnestness as a social philosopher and reformer develops itself mainly in the direction of action and of sympathy; Mr. Carlyle's exhales itself, for the most part, in a fierce contempt against folly and weakness, which is always unmeasured and usually unchristian. The earnestness of Carlyle, though savagely sincere, never condescends enough to detail or to knowledge to make him a practical reformer; that of Kingsley is so restless as to allow him no repose, and sends him rushing, *tête baissée*, at every visible evil or abuse. The one has stirred thousands to bitterest discontent with life and with the world, but scarcely erected a finger-post or supplied a motive; the other has roused numbers to buckle on their armour in a holy cause, but has often directed them astray, and has not always been careful either as to banner or to watchword.

Both are fearfully pugnacious; indeed, they are beyond comparison the two most combative writers of their age. Nature sent them into the world full of aggressive propensities; and strong principles, warm hearts, and expansive sympathies, have enlisted these propensities on the side of benevolence and virtue. Happier than many, they have been able to enlist their passions in the cause of right. But their success or good fortune in doing this has led them into the delusion common in such cases. They fancy that the cause consecrates the passion. They feel

“ We have come forth upon the field of life
To war with Evil ;”

and once satisfied that it is evil against which they are contending, they let themselves go, and give full swing to all the vehemence of their unregenerate natures. We comprehend the full charms of such a tilt. It must be delightful to array all the energies of the old Adam against the foes of the new. What unspeakable relief and joy for a Christian like Mr. Kingsley, whom God

has made boiling over with animal eagerness and fierce aggressive instincts, to feel that he is not called upon to control these instincts, but only to direct them; and that once having, or fancying that he has, in view a man or an institution that is God's enemy as well as his, he may hate it with a perfect hatred, and go at it *en sabreur*! Accordingly he reminds us of nothing so much as of a war-horse panting for the battle; his usual style is marvellously like a neigh—a “ha! ha! among the trumpets;” the dust of the combat is to him the breath of life; and when once, in the plenitude of grace and faith, fairly let loose upon his prey—human, moral, or material—all the Red Indian within him comes to the surface, and he wields his tomahawk with an unregenerate heartiness, slightly heathenish no doubt, but withal unspeakably refreshing. It is amazing how hard one who is a gladiator by nature strikes when convinced that he is doing God service. Mr. Kingsley is a strange mixture of the spirit of the two covenants. He draws his sympathy with human wrongs mainly from the New Testament; but his mode of dealing with human wrong-doers altogether from the Old. Mr. Carlyle borrows little from either division of the Bible; his onslaughts are like those of one of the northern gods; he wields Thor's hammer righteously in the main, but with a grim and terrible ferocity, and often mangles his victims as though absolutely intoxicated by the taste of blood.

Both writers—and this is one of their most serious offences—are contemptuous and abusive towards their adversaries far beyond the limits of taste, decency, or gentlemanly usage. Both indulge in terms of scorn and vituperation such as no cause can justify and no correct or Christian feeling could inspire. Their pages often read like the paragraphs in the Commination Service. Their holy wrath is poured out, as from teeming and exhaustless fountains, on every thing they disapprove, and on every one who ventures to differ from them or to argue with them. Since the days of Dean Swift and Johnson there have been no such offenders among the literary men of England. Still, even here there is a difference: Mr. Carlyle slangs like a blaspheming pagan; Mr. Kingsley like a denouncing prophet.

Mingled, too, with this unseemly fury, and piercing through all their unmeasured and lacerating language, there is discernible in both men a rich vein of beautiful and pathetic tenderness. This is most marked in Mr. Carlyle, as might be expected from his far deeper nature; and if considered in connection with the irritations of an uncomfortable and nervous organisation, goes far to explain, if not to excuse, his outrageous ferocity of utterance. It is as though, like the prophet of old, “he was mad for the sight of his eyes which he saw.” Gloomy and phrenetic

by temperament; full of enthusiasm for what is noble; keen in his perceptions of what ought to be and might be; bitterly conscious of the contrast with what is; sympathising with almost painful vividness in the sufferings of the unhappy and the wronged, but perversely showing that sympathy rather by contemptuous anger than by relieving gentleness; richly endowed with warm human affections, which yet he is half ashamed of, and would fain conceal; little accustomed to control himself, and never taught to respect others,—his spirit is in a perpetual state both of internecine and of foreign war; and his tenderness, instead of being like oil upon the troubled waters, seems to be only one more incongruous and fermenting element cast into the seething caldron. But whenever he will let it beam out unchecked, it not only spreads a rare sunshine over his pages, but communicates at once elevation and sobriety of tone. It is this which makes his *Life of Sterling* far the most pleasant as well as one of the truest of his books.

Mr. Kingsley's tenderness is of a different order. Like all his excellencies and defects, it springs from his physical temperament; and is therefore manly, prompt, and genuine, but not profound. Indeed, we think the special peculiarity of Mr. Kingsley's nature, as of his genius, is that it wants depth. It is as sound as a bell, thoroughly healthy, indescribably vigorous; but, if we must speak our thought, a little superficial. Perhaps it is too healthy to be deep. Still it is very pleasant, because so bubbling, lively, and sincere. We will quote one passage in illustration: it is rather long; but, as we do not intend to quote much, and as it is in his best manner, we will transfer it to our pages.

"Was there no poetry in these Puritans, because they wrote no poetry? We do not mean now the unwritten tragedy of the battle-psalm and the charge; but simple idyllic poetry and quiet household-drama, love-poetry of the heart and hearth, and the beauties of everyday human life. Take the most commonplace of them: was Zeal-for-Truth Thoresby, of Thoresby Rise in Deeping Fen, because his father had thought fit to give him an ugly and silly name, the less of a noble lad? Did his name prevent his being six feet high? Were his shoulders the less broad for it; his cheeks the less ruddy for it? He wore his flaxen hair of the same length that every one now wears theirs, instead of letting it hang half way to his waist in essenced curls; but was he therefore the less of a true Viking's son, bold-hearted as his sea-roving ancestors, who won the Danelagh by Canute's side, and settled there on Thoresby Rise, to grow wheat and breed horses, generation succeeding generation, in the old moated grange? He carried a Bible in his jack-boot; but did that prevent him, as Oliver rode past him with an approving smile on Naseby field, thinking himself a very handsome fellow, with his moustache and imperial, and bright red coat, and cuirass well polished, in spite of many a dint, as he sate his

father's great black horse as gracefully and firmly as any long-locked and essenced cavalier in front of him? Or did it prevent him thinking, too, for a moment, with a throb of the heart, that sweet cousin Patience far away at home, could she but see him, might have the same opinion of him as he had of himself? Was he the worse for the thought? He was certainly not the worse for checking it the next instant, with manly shame for letting such 'carnal vanities' rise in his heart while he was 'doing the Lord's work' in the teeth of death and hell: but was there no poetry in him then? No poetry in him, five minutes after, as the long rapier swung round his head, redder and redder at every sweep? We are befooled by names. Call him Crusader instead of Roundhead, and he seems at once, (granting him only sincerity, which he had, and that of a right awful kind,) as complete a knight-errant as ever watched and prayed, ere putting on his spurs, in fantastic Gothic chapel, beneath 'storied windows richly dight.' Was there no poetry in him, either, half an hour afterwards, as he lay bleeding across the corpse of the gallant horse, waiting for his turn with the surgeon, and fumbled for the Bible in his boot, and tried to hum a psalm, and thought of Cousin Patience, and his father and his mother; and how they would hear, at least, that he had played the man in Israel that day, and resisted unto blood, striving against sin and the Man of Sin? And was there no poetry in him, too, as he came wearied along Thoresby dyke, in the quiet autumn eve, home to the house of his forefathers, and saw afar off the knot of tall poplars rising over the broad misty flat, and the one great Abele tossing its sheets of silver in the dying gusts, and knew that they stood before his father's door? Who can tell all the pretty child-memories which flitted across his brain at that sight, and made him forget that he was a wounded cripple? And now he was going home to meet her (Patience) after a mighty victory, a deliverance from Heaven, second only in his eyes to that Red-Sea one. Was there no poetry in his heart at that thought? Did not the glowing sunset, and the reed-beds which it transfigured before him into sheets of golden flame, seem tokens that the glory of God was going before him in his path? Did not the sweet clamour of the wild-fowl, gathering for one rich pæan ere they sank into rest, seem to him as God's bells chiming him home in triumph with peals sweeter and bolder than those of Lincoln or Peterborough steeple-house? Did not the very lapwing, as she tumbled softly wailing before his path, as she did years ago, seem to welcome the wanderer home in the name of Heaven?

Fair Patience, too, thought she was a Puritan, yet did not her cheek flush, her eye grow dim, like any other girl's, as she saw far off the red coat, like a sliding spark of fire, coming slowly along the strait fen-bank, and fled upstairs into her chamber to pray, half that it might be, half that it might not be he? Was there no happy storm of human tears and human laughter when he entered the courtyard-gate? Did not the old dog lick his Puritan hand as lovingly as if it had been a Cavalier's? Did not lads and lasses run out shouting? Did not the old yeoman father hug him, weep over him, hold him at arm's length, and

hug him again, as heartily as any other John Bull, even though the next moment he called all to kneel down and thank Him who had sent his boy home again, after bestowing on him the grace to bind kings in chains, and nobles with links of iron, and contend to death for the faith delivered to the saints? And did not Zeal-for-Truth look about as wistfully for Patience as any other man would have done, longing to see her, yet not daring even to ask for her? And when she came down at last, was she the less lovely in his eyes because she came, not flaunting with bare bosom, in tawdry finery and paint, but shrouded close in coif and pinner, hiding from all the world beauty which was there still, but was meant for one alone, and that only if God willed, in God's good time? And was there no faltering of their voices, no light in their eyes, no trembling pressure of their hands, which said more, and was more, ay and more beautiful in the sight of Him who made them, than all Herrick's Dianemes, Waller's Saccharissas, flames, darts, posies, love-knots, anagrams, and the rest of the insincere cant of the court? What if Zeal-for-Truth had never strung two rhymes together in his life? Did not his heart go for inspiration to a loftier Helicon, when it whispered to itself, 'My love, my dove, my undefiled, is but one,' than if he had filled pages with sonnets about Venuses and Cupids, love-sick shepherds and cruel nymphs?

And was there no poetry, true idyllic poetry, as of Longfellow's *Evangeline* itself, in that trip round the old farm next morning, when Zeal-for-Truth, after looking over every heifer, and peeping into every sty, would needs canter down by his father's side to the horse-fen, with his arm in a sling; while the partridges whirled up before them, and the lurchers flashed like gray snakes after the hare, and the colts came whinnying round with staring eyes and streaming manes; and the two chatted on in the same sober business-like English tone, alternately of 'the Lord's great dealings' by General Cromwell, the pride of all honest fen-men, and the price of troop-horses at the next Horncastle fair?

Poetry in those old Puritans? Why not? They were men of like passions with ourselves. They loved, they married, they brought up children; they feared, they sinned, they sorrowed, they fought, they conquered. There was poetry enough in them, be sure, though they acted it like men instead of singing it like birds."

Again, both men are heartily and instinctively religious; yet both incessantly grate against the religious feelings of reverent Christians, though in a different manner, and from different causes. The one is full of reverence, but has no fixed or definite belief; the other is orthodox enough in doctrine, but does not know what reverence means. The one has no creed; the other has no doubt. Mr. Carlyle—as all deep and great spirits must—approaches the high mysteries of the Infinite and the Eternal with awe unspeakable, and almost with humility. He dares not even define the Illimitable Agencies; he always speaks of them in the plural number. You cannot tell what he means precisely when he whispers of the Silences and the Immen-

sities—probably he could not tell himself; but there is no mistaking the natural tone and sentiment with which man refers to something supremely and incomprehensibly above him. There may be no distinct Being for whom this awe is felt, but the awe is unquestionably there. In Mr. Kingsley there is nothing of all this. The great creative and pervading spirit of the universe, who for Mr. Carlyle is *l'Être Suprême*, for Mr. Kingsley is simply *le bon Dieu*. He is not a stricken mortal, prostrate before the Ineffable Intelligence, but a workman of God, a soldier of Christ, a messenger who has got his orders from his immediate superior, and will execute them like a faithful labourer. He knows God's will, and it always harmonises strangely with Mr. Kingsley's objects and opinions. He has an unquestioning obedience, cheerful service, boundless devotion, to his Father who is in heaven; but of what we call reverence—hushed and breathless adoration, solemn sense of infinite depth and infinite littleness,—we can perceive no trace whatever. He seems as unconscious as the infant Samuel of a superior Presence. His feelings towards God appear to hover between those of the negro and the Israelite, or rather to partake of both. He speaks of Him, and to Him, with the simple directness, the confiding but not disrespectful familiarity, now of Moses and now of Uncle Tom. When he issues his commands to the world of sinners, it is as though he had just come from an interview with the Most High on Sinai. When he prays, it is (to use Mrs. Stowe's language) as though he knew God was listening behind the curtain. He is unpleasantly fond of introducing the Great Name on all occasions: it is always "God's work," "God's feasts," "God's heroes," "God's bells," "Good news of God;" expressions which, just and fitting enough when sparingly, solemnly, and appropriately used, produce almost a profane effect by their incessant and uncalled-for recurrence; appear to be dictated chiefly by an appetite for strong language operating on a gentleman in orders; and are, in fact, we believe, Mr. Kingsley's way of swearing.

There are further points of resemblance between the two men still. Roaming through our world of complicated and corrupt civilisation, laying about them with an iron flail, and smashing shams, follies, and abuses with little mercy and less discrimination, they have yet both their weak places and their blind sides. Iconoclasts as they are, they are idolaters also,—and idolaters of the worst sort, and at the coarsest shrine. These teachers of mankind in an age of advanced science and refinement, trained in the highest culture, rich in the noblest endowments,—

"These, the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time,"—

worship much as the barbarians of old did, and much as the savages do now, and fall prostrate before brute Force and a tyrannous and unrelenting Will. They are "Titanolaters," as Archdeacon Hare appropriately named them. Mr. Carlyle raves about "Jarls" and "Vikings," and the "grand old Norsemen," till we are sick of the recurring cant; and Mr. Kingsley echoes his precise phrases and expressions, page after page, with an almost parrot-like exactitude of iteration. This idolatry of mere strength, however, assumes distinct forms in the two writers; and, strange to say, it takes a somewhat higher type in the Pagan than in the Christian votary. The one idolises chiefly strength of purpose, the other chiefly strength of muscle and of nerve. Both probably have "gone in" for their own especial line of superiority. Mr. Carlyle,—never strong in health or agile in frame, nor trained either as ploughman, sportsman, soldier, or athlete, but having had to fight his way in life with a persistent energy and a self-denying power which do him infinite honour—thinks little of mere bodily strength, and, indeed, seldom speaks of the animal frame at all, but feels an irresistible attraction towards inflexible tempers and overmastering volitions. Indeed, he is essentially and consistently a despot; and with all despots, if only they be relentless and inconsiderate enough, he has a prompt and abounding sympathy. If they be utterly brutal in addition, there are no limits to his admiration. His heart yearns to them, and leaps up to meet them as to a brother. He calls them "MEN," "true men," "types of real manhood." No one acquainted with Mr. Carlyle's writings will, we are sure, charge us with one shade of exaggeration. Every book, and almost every page, will witness for us. The fierce rough Danton was among his earliest idols, bloody and ignorant as he was, because he was simple and earnest, knew what he wanted (or thought he did), and went with Juggernaut directness and recklessness to his end. Samuel Johnson too—noble old bear that he was—Mr. Carlyle really loves for his unendurable brutality. But it was not till he met with Frederick-William of Prussia,—probably the most truculent ruffian that ever sat upon a throne; an absolute savage in taste and temper; often half mad, and constantly quite drunk; for ever and in every relation of life trampling upon justice, decency, kindness, and natural affection,—that Mr. Carlyle recognised the "realised ideal" of his fancy, and hugged the "just man made perfect" to his heart of hearts.

But Mr. Carlyle not only worships "forcible" men; he would apply force—physical force—to all recalcitrants; he would govern the world by force. The wise and powerful must rule; the ignorant and foolish must submit. The scourge and

the sword must carry out the dicta which Mr. Carlyle sees to be good. The negro must be flogged into sugar-making; the wandering and misguided multitudes of all lands must be "regimented" under "captains of industry," who will *compel* them to their task. The same offensive disregard of the rights of individual humanity, the same contempt for freedom, the same exaggeration of its mischiefs, the same denial or unconsciousness of its benefits, runs through his works, and mars the beauty and the value of them all. Truly, the despots of the world—whether priests, legitimate tyrants, or military usurpers—never before among literary celebrities had an apologist or an adorer like the philosopher of Chelsea.

Mr. Kingsley's idolatry of power shows itself in a different fashion, prompted no doubt by his different organisation, and somewhat more befitting his clerical profession. He himself is endowed by nature with a vigorous and exuberant organisation, is a sportsman, a foxhunter, an athlete, and would probably have been a gladiator if he had not been a Christian. He revels in the description of every species of athletic exercise and desperate strife. Accordingly, all his heroes are men of surpassing animal strength, all bone and muscle, marvels of agility, boiling over with exulting and abounding life, and usually miracles of physical beauty likewise. They are constantly "models;" and very often "young Antinouses," or "Phæbus Apollos." He loves above all things to paint, and to display in action, his ideal of the perfect "animal man." Softness and feebleness he cannot abide. The perpetual moral of his writings, which crops out at every sentence, is the old sentiment,

"To be weak is miserable,
Doing or suffering."

He does not, like Mr. Carlyle, bow down in reverence before Might when utterly divorced from Right. But it is impossible not to perceive that admiration for what is strong, *as* strong, is about his most vivid original instinct. With all his Christian feelings, his varnish of modern civilisation, his noble aspirations, and all the intense philanthropies of his heart, Mr. Kingsley, beneath the skin, is something of a Goth, a pagan, and a school-boy still.

Finally, and not to weary our readers further with this prolonged parallel between the two most picturesque and graphic writers of the day, one other guilty similarity remains to be denounced. Both are declaimers—not reasoners. Their declamation is always powerful, often splendid; rich with gorgeous imagery; full of lightning gleams—sometimes lengthening out into steady rays—of grand and saving truths; frequently,

usually perhaps, flashing forth in the cause of humanity and right; often striking the real offender and the real sin, often proclaiming the true hero and extolling the true virtue; magnificent in its wrath, withering in its scorn: but, after all, only declamation. Neither writer ever *reasons*, in the strict sense of the term. Inspiration supersedes all necessity for the slow and cautious processes by which conscientious mortals of the ordinary stamp must painfully work out truth and light; and both Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Kingsley believe themselves inspired. The industrious collection and collation of premises, the careful elaboration of conclusions, are beneath them. They despise the inductive process.* Mr. Carlyle hates facts; Mr. Kingsley hates logic. The hatred of both breaks out on all occasions. Their opinions on subjects, their judgments of men, are not formed by reflection, but dictated by sentiment; and therefore the first are constantly unsound, and the second constantly unjust. What they like, what fits into their temperament, *that* they believe, and *that* they praise. What they dislike, what grates upon their tastes, *that* they repudiate and denounce. Their abhorrence of reasoning is heightened by a further peculiarity common to the two. They are singularly *impatient* men. They are too impatient to observe and inquire; too impatient to perpend and reflect; too impatient to entertain doubts and resolve them. They are not *ruminating* animals; they do not chew the cud of thought. They *pounce upon* ideas, catch bright glimpses of them, have them written on their souls as by a flash of light, shoot them flying, wake in the morning and find them there;—but never create, educe, mould, revolve them.

The inevitable consequence of this is, that both men, to a degree wholly unworthy of cultured intellects, are at the mercy of their sympathies and their antipathies. You cannot have better awakeners, nor worse guides. We might cite a thousand illustrations, but two will suffice. Take the treatment which political economy and its votaries receive at their hands. Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Kingsley—the latter especially—are deeply impressed with the wretched condition of mankind in these islands, and with the vast and irresistible influence which their material well- or ill-being has upon their moral state. In his *Miscellanies*,† Mr. Kingsley states his views on this subject with a breadth and daring which are astounding in a clergyman, but with which we almost unreservedly agree. To make men virtuous, he every where proclaims, you must first rescue them

* It is a curious exemplification, that Mr. Kingsley has put forth a volume treating of some of the most knotty and awful questions that can occupy the human mind under the perfectly accurate title of *Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers*.

† ii. pp. 332-334.

from their physical misery. Now, political economy is the science which treats of man's material well-being. It deals with causes, not with symptoms. Discarding the shallow charity which relieves suffering as it arises, and perpetuates and multiplies it by relieving it, political economy searches out and explains the sources of that suffering, and the only recipe for its radical and enduring cure. Eschewing and denouncing the assistance from without, which degrades the labourer, it studies and preaches that knowledge and self-control which elevates and strengthens while it enriches him. Knowing that competence is essential (among the masses at least) to virtue and to progress, its task is to discover and proclaim how that competence is to be won. It is, in a single word, the Science of Philanthropy. Its business is to show how, and how only; Mr. Kingsley's object may be attained. Surely the professors of such a science ought to be recognised and welcomed by him as fellow-labourers. He may think their principles at fault; he may think their rules too rigid; he may think their purpose and their means too narrow; but at least he must see that they are doing his work, and aiming at his end. But no; they are exact thinkers, and Mr. Kingsley hates the fetters of exactitude. They are logicians, and believe in logic; Mr. Kingsley neither has it, nor has faith in it. They are often dry, stern, and methodical, while Mr. Kingsley is impetuous, enthusiastic, and sentimental; and, in these matters at least, he can endure no man who does not wear his livery, speak his language, and go his way. Therefore he denounces them in terms quite as violent, and almost as indecent, as Mr. Carlyle. Yet they are both acquainted with economists—with one at least, and he perhaps the chief—whose compassion for the wretched and the astray is as vivid and as genuine as their own, and has often tried hard his allegiance to sound doctrine and scientific truth, but scarcely ever—if ever—found it wanting. Unheeding all this, however, and never pausing to master the science they detest, or to respect the thinker whom they know, they have made political economy from the first, and make it still, the object of their fiercest anathemas.

We need not encumber our pages with the sarcasms which disfigure nearly all Mr. Carlyle's writings against the "professors of the Dismal Science," "the Gospel according to M'Crowdy," and the like;* nor should we be disposed to remind our readers of the very unseemly and indefensible language used on the subject by Mr. Kingsley in *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*, and in *Alton Locke* (of which we hoped and believed that he had long ago become ashamed), were it not that in his *Mis-*

* See *Past and Present*, *Chartism*, and *Latter-day Pamphlets*, passim.

cellanies, published only yesterday, we came upon a passage in his old manner, which proves too clearly that the shame has been ineffectual, and that the repentance is, to say the least, incomplete. At present Mr. Kingsley is wild about sanitary reform; so are we. Well, then, remembering who was the chief originator, and unwearied—if not unwearying—advocate of that great movement, how could he dare to pen and publish this heartless sneer?

"Others again expected, with equal wisdom, the assistance of the political economist [in the work of sanitary reform]. The fact is undeniable, but at the same time inexplicable. What they could have found in the doctrines of most modern political economists which should lead them to believe that *human life would be precious in their eyes* is unknown to the writer of these pages. Those whose bugbear has been over-population, whose motto has been a euphuistic version of

'The more the merrier, the fewer the better fare,'

cannot be expected to lend their aid in increasing the population by saving the lives of two-thirds of the children who now die prematurely in our great cities, and so still further overcrowding this unhappy land with those helpless and expensive sources of national poverty—rational human beings in strength and health."*

It is as useless to argue with Mr. Kingsley when he takes up his parable against economic science, as with Sir A. Alison when he opens out about the currency. But passing over the unscrupulousness of the above onslaught, we cannot help observing,

* In justice to ourselves, and as a specimen of Mr. Kingsley's style when he comes across his foes, we must give the rest of the passage, though we confess to a feeling almost of disgust as we transcribe his random irony.

"By political economy alone has this faculty [progress and invention] been denied to man. In it alone he is not to conquer nature, but simply to obey her. Let her starve him, make him a slave, a bankrupt, or what not, he must submit, as the savage does to the hail and the lightning. '*Laissez-faire*,' says the '*science du néant*,'—the '*science de la misère*,' as it has truly and bitterly been called,—'*laissez-faire*.' Analyse economic questions if you will, but beyond analysis you shall not step. Any attempt to raise political economy to its synthetic stage is to break the laws of nature, to fight against facts; as if facts were not made to be fought against and conquered and put out of the way, whensoever they interfere in the least with the welfare of any human being. [Strange jumble and confusion between facts and truths, principles and laws.] The drowning man is not to strike out for his life, lest by keeping his head above water he interferes with the laws of gravitation. Not that the political economist, or any man, can be true to his own fallacy. He must needs try his hand at the synthetic method, though he forbids it to the rest of the world. But the only deductive hint which he has as yet given to mankind is, quaintly enough, the most unnatural '*eidolon specus*' which ever entered into the head of a dehumanised pedant—namely, that once-famous '*preventive check*,' which—if ever a nation did apply it, as it never will—could issue, as every doctor knows, in nothing less than the questionable habits of abortion, child-murder, and unnatural crime."—*Miscellanies*, i. 116.

It is difficult to say whether the rattling nonsense or the unseemly insinuations of this passage are the more repellent.

that a little reading or a little thought might have shown Mr. Kingsley its falsity as well. Does he not know that human life is precious in the eyes of political economists,—not perhaps for the same considerations as with him, but precisely because they are wise reasoners and sound calculators? Is he not aware that they deplore that sacrifice of youthful life caused by a neglect of sanitary laws, because it is *wasteful* as well as cruel? They long ago explained and remonstrated against the folly and extravagance of these inchoate and incomplete existences; they repeatedly and seriously called attention to the fact that, to take no higher ground,—for, be it remembered, *in their profession* they are men of science, and not moralists,—every child that was not reared to manhood was a drain upon the national wealth, a source of unrepaid expenditure, an investment of toil and money which yielded no return—a consumer only, and a producer never. They condemned the costly folly of letting children die before they reached the labouring and remunerating age (or bringing them into the world so that they must so die), on the same principles as they would condemn the analogous insanity of trampling down your green corn, or building houses and then letting them fall to pieces before you finished them; because, *from the point of view at which they were then dealing with the subject*, the cases were alike, inasmuch as both were idle and wasteful preparations for a result that was never to arrive—planting a tree that was never to bear fruit. In technical language, both were instances of “unproductive expenditure.”

The same servitude to impressions and antipathies which makes Mr. Kingsley so unjust to unwelcome doctrines, makes him also unjust to alien men. We cannot have a better illustration than his comments on Shelley and Byron, republished in his *Miscellanies* (i. p. 310). His attack upon the former seems to us utterly unwarrantable. Byron, amid all his fearful sins, was a “MAN:” he was gifted with indomitable energy and courage; he excelled in all bodily exercises of which his lameness allowed him to partake,—he swam, boxed, rode, shot, to perfection; was vehement, impetuous, daring, and above all, combative; a child of impulses, many of them noble and sane, all of them natural and vigorous: and therefore he was, except in his excesses and his sins, a man after Mr. Kingsley's own heart. Though his nature was intensely worldly, Byron too was, or fancied himself, a sort of Christian; while Shelley, whose nature was essentially, though waywardly, religious, was, and proclaimed himself, an unbeliever. Poor Shelley—gentle, tender, ethereal and aspiring, sober and abstemious, a pale student, an abstract and highly metaphysical thinker, delicate as a woman in his organisation, sensitive as a woman in his sympathies, loathing

all that was coarse and low with a woman's shrinking, detesting all field-sports as barbarous and brutal,—presented a phase of humanity utterly alien to the rampant and “healthy animalism” of Mr. Kingsley's nature. In early life Shelley, habitually the purest and least sensual of men, committed one grievous fault, so far as we can judge, less at the instigation of wrong passions than under the delusion of a false theory. In early life, too, when wild and flighty almost to the verge of insanity, if not sometimes beyond it,—when smarting under bitter wrongs, enthusiastic for the regeneration of the world, burning with boyish zeal for the destruction of what he held to be a mischievous and tyrannical delusion, and full of the self-opinion which belongs to youth, and not unfrequently survives it,—he poured forth mad anathemas against Christianity and social law. It availed nothing that he denounced unnatural and ascetic priests with a pertinacious eloquence akin to Mr. Kingsley's own; that his purse, his time, his strength, were always at the call of the suffering and the sad; that his blood boiled as fiercely as that of the strongest at the bare idea of injustice and oppression, and that in such a cause he was as brave as a lion, and would take any odds; that he exercised over the coarser mind of Byron a strange influence, which, if not intellectually wholesome, was always morally improving; and that he even persuaded him to abstain from continuing his profligate poem;—all this goes for nothing: the one poet was sympathetic, the other antipathic to Mr. Kingsley's tastes; and accordingly, Shelley, whose life, we believe (except in the one instance referred to), was strictly chaste, and whose pages are as pure as Mr. Kingsley's own,—for he, like Shelley, sometimes errs in saying things better left unsaid, and like Shelley, too, errs from mistaken theory, and not from wrong design,—Shelley is “lewd” and a “satyr.” “Byron may be brutal, but he never cants;”—“if Byron sinned more desperately and more flagrantly, it was done under the temptations of rank, wealth, disappointed love, and the impulses of an animal nature, to which Shelley's passions were

‘As moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.’”

To Shelley, therefore, is attributed “the lewdness of the gentle and sensitive vegetarian;” and Byron is “the sturdy peer, proud of his bull-neck and his boxing, who kept bears and bull-dogs, and drilled Greek ruffians at Missolonghi, and ‘had no objection to a pot of beer;’ and who might, if he had been reformed, have made a gallant English gentleman: while Shelley, if once his intense self-opinion had deserted him, would probably have ended in Rome as an Oratorian or a Passionist.”*

* It is singular that, a few pages further on, we find Mr. Kingsley speaking

A more characteristic passage—one more richly redolent of unregenerate Kingsleianism—it would be difficult to find. It suggests, too, another criticism we have to make upon our author,—the close connection, namely, of his greatest merits and his greatest faults with the intensely *social* character of his mind. His test, not only of good and evil, but of truth and falsehood, may be said to be the tendency of actions or doctrines to dissolve the bonds of social unity, or to draw them closer. This perhaps lies at the root of his dislike to political economy. Competition—which political economy recognises as the law of trade—he sees, truly enough, to be the source of much selfishness, many jealousies, and occasionally of bitter animosities and heart-burnings; and hence he tries to sweep the whole system away with the strong wind of religious faith. His deep respect for sanitary laws, for bodily exercises, for field sports, is in a great measure due to the connection of these things with *social* health, and the effect they have in clearing away the secret morbidness of exclusive temperaments, and opening the communications between mind and mind. He knows well that there is scarcely any root of exclusiveness, of moral cowardice, of self-involvement, of social blight, so common as the neglect of physical health and exercise; and he is aware, too, that the social and buoyant tone of his own Christianity arises in a great measure from his building it up on a sound foundation of physical health. There are evidently few things he hates so much as the morbid fancifulness of solitary and sedentary minds.

But this *social* test of right and truth, sound enough as far as it goes, is, *more consuetudo*, so exaggerated by Mr. Kingsley that it often brings out very false results. It is true that there must be a seed of error and of poison in any mind, or in any system of belief, which leads permanently to isolation, narrowness, and frigid self-sufficiency. But it is not true—as Mr. Kingsley thinks—that the characteristic sins of social temperaments are less heinous or less dangerous than the characteristic sins of solitary temperaments; nor even that convictions which *for a time* may seem to sever men from their fellow-creatures, and to remove them painfully from human sympathy, are less true than those which give an immediate and commanding hold of the popular mind. Now Mr. Kingsley falls into both these

of Shelley in almost the precise terms in which we have spoken of himself. "Whether it be vegetarianism or liberty, the rule [with Shelley] is practically the same—sentiment; which in this case, as in the case of all sentimentalists, turns out to mean at last, not the sentiments of mankind in general, but the private sentiments of the writer. This is Shelley; a sentimentalist pure and simple; incapable of any thing like inductive reasoning, unable to take cognisance of any facts but those which please his taste, or to draw any conclusion from them but such as also pleases his taste" (p. 314).

errors. In that essay on Shelley and Byron to which we have just referred, the man of social temperament, of unbridled passions, and of unbridled selfishness, is contrasted with a man whose complex, benevolent, sensitive, but in several points unhealthy, spirit was of such a kind that few could understand him fully, and few were fully understood by him. That the one was morbid, and the other manly, we do not deny; but we cannot conceive how any just-minded moralist, who judged by a true test—or, indeed, by any standard at all other than his own self-will and predilections—could compare Byron with Shelley, and feel inclined to give judgment in favour of the hardy reprobate over the gentle and aspiring enthusiast. But what Mr. Kingsley feels so strongly is, that Byron's sins against the social bond, though deep and gross, were *open* and easily exposed: Shelley's life and poetry, on the other hand, he thinks likely to fascinate men with an appearance of beauty and nobility which will end in eating out the manliness of their life and the heart of their faith. It is possible enough, perhaps, that a Shelley *school* of thought—though not half so likely to become prevalent—might, if prevalent, be more evil in its influences than a Byronic school, because it would be a more complex and subtle combination of noble sentiments with emotional self-indulgence. But what right have we, in comparing the two men, to judge them by the probable *effects* upon society of their characteristic faults? The fact remains, that Shelley—though afflicted with a morbid and unsocial nature, which, however, he did much to elevate and purify—was self-controlled, benevolent, dignified, courageously true, and comparatively pure in life; while Byron was selfish, sensual, covetous of fame, not above dissimulation, and without the power of mastering himself. Yet the Christian minister prefers the strong *fast* sinner to the erroneous and anti-pathic thinker!

But Mr. Kingsley not only makes social influence a test of good and evil; he too much inclines to make it a test of *Truth* also. In the Dialogue of *Phaethon*—a book, by the way, which if a man wishes to fill his belly with the east wind (as Solomon says), he had better read to-morrow—he is not ashamed to assert that a man who has reached what he is convinced is positive truth, should suppress the expression of that conviction if it seems to be in conflict with (what Mr. Kingsley, we suppose, deems to be) the more happy and useful belief of society at large. The atheist, we are told, even if moved by the “Spirit of Truth,” is bound to conceal his unbelief;

“for there would be far more chance that he alone was wrong, and the many right, than that the many were wrong, and he alone right. He would, therefore, commit an insolent and conceited action, and

moreover a cruel and shameless one; for he would certainly make miserable, were he believed, the hearts of many virtuous persons who had never harmed him, for no immediate or demonstrable purpose except that of pleasing his own self-will" (p. 41).

This is perhaps the worst instance to be found in Mr. Kingsley's writings of his indiscriminating worship of the social bond. If he had given himself time to think, or had asked any *reasoning* friend to think for him, he would scarcely have published such a passage; or, indeed, any portion of the slipshod volume which contains it. No doubt, *in the end*, any creed must be false, or must contain a large element of error, which tends to drive men asunder; and all true faith ought ultimately to draw them into closer union and harmony. But this is not, and cannot be, our main *test* of their truth; and those who make it so commit exactly the same mistake as the utilitarian moralist, who judges of moral actions only by their consequences. Deep conviction is the sole *sine quâ non* of the duty of public expression. Of course, no man is bound, and no man has a right, to throw forth to the world his crude, hasty, passing notions on serious subjects—especially if those notions are likely to prove perturbing or offensive, and if he has not qualified himself by years, by study, by patient inquiry, and by modest reflection, to form and to propound independent opinions: and Mr. Kingsley might take this lesson home. But the mature convictions of mature minds are the great instruments of social progress and purification: all who read history know them to be so; all who believe in God should feel them to be so likewise; and should beware lest, out of mere timid unfaithfulness of soul, they "quench the spirit," and fight against the suggestions of the Most High.

As in the few pages which remain of our allotted space we shall address our criticisms to Mr. Kingsley alone, we should be sorry to leave our readers under the impression that what we have said of his analogue, Mr. Carlyle, comprises our whole opinion of that eminent man, or at all faithfully conveys the sentiments with which we regard him. We have spoken of his faults freely and severely; and we have nothing more to add on that score. But Mr. Carlyle is a man to be spoken of with respect, even where we cannot speak of him with patience. The present age owes to few a deeper debt of gratitude. He has infused into it something of his own uncompromising earnestness. He has preached up the duty and the dignity of WORK, with an eloquence which has often made the idle shake off their idleness, and the frivolous feel ashamed of their frivolity. He has proclaimed, in tones that have stirred many

hearts, that in toil, however humble, if honest and hearty, lie our true worth and felicity here below. "Blessed is the man who has found his work," he somewhere says: "let him ask no other blessedness." He has inspired in others something of his own contempt for animal indulgence, and for unproductive and unaspiring ease. He is the most terrible scourge the *fruges consumere nati* ever had. For every thing unreal and deceptive he has a keen eye and a withering denunciation. He has broken in pieces many hollow idols, and scattered to the winds many empty pretensions, many time-honoured falsehoods, many half-held creeds. He has forced a conventional and shallow generation to test and try many things, and to abandon what has clearly been found wanting. If he has built up little, he has destroyed much; he has prepared the way for future workmen by removing vast heaps of encumbering rubbish. On thinkers and on the young he has exercised an influence which has always been remarkable, and generally salutary; and if he has been usually scouted and neglected by statesmen and politicians, by the practical and the sober-minded, he owes it to his inveterate habit—in which again, by the way, Mr. Kingsley resembles him—of stating truth with such outrageous exaggeration that it looks like falsehood, and almost becomes such.

We have two more criticisms to make on Mr. Kingsley's writings; and both relate to very grave faults. With faculties equal to turning out work of almost any degree of excellence, his ordinary style of workmanship is slovenly and slipshod. With power to reach almost any standard, his ordinary standard is unfixed and low. He, who can do so well, is content often to do ill. We are sure that he writes as he thinks, hastily and inconsiderately. His rattling, random, galloping, defiant fashion of writing irresistibly conveys the impression of a man of overflowing mind coming in from a breathless burst with the foxhounds, rushing to his desk with muddy boots, battered hat, and disordered dress, and dashing off with vast rapidity the teeming fancies suggested to him by a brisk circulation and a fertile and vivid brain. He is essentially an *improvisatore*—an extempore writer. His luxuriance is marvellous; but he never prunes or tones it down. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, conscious of his own great gifts, he thinks that his loosest and most careless thoughts are good enough for the world. He wants respect for his readers, for his art, and for his own powers. He does not value the talent God has given him sufficiently to cultivate it to its highest point of perfection, to dress it in the most fitting drapery, or to be on the watch against its straggling

vagaries. He has none of the noble, artistic, old Greek thirst for perfection. He "goes in" for quantity rather than quality. Content with, and revelling in, a prolific exuberance that is almost unrivalled; seeking to do much rather than to do well; trusting to inspiration, and fancying (perhaps too easily) that whatever comes must be inspired,—he is for ever falling below himself, and at once disappointing and irritating his admirers. Now, a genius like Mr. Kingsley's not only deserves the most sedulous culture, but demands the most severe control. It is too rich and teeming to be left to "wander at its own sweet will." It needs to be *employed*, not to be *indulged*. A man has no more right to allow his powers to be *less* useful and profitable than they might be made, than he has to misuse or to neglect them altogether. If it be sinful to wrap your talent in a napkin and hide it in the earth, it is only one degree less sinful so to handle it as to make it yield twofold only where it might yield ten.

We have said that Mr. Kingsley is essentially an *improvisatore*. His novels especially bear the same relation to the best works of art, in their line, that the extempore versification of an abounding fancy bears to the conscientiously perfected and polished production of a consummate poet. It is difficult to believe that, either in *Hypatia* or in *Two Years ago*, he had laid his plot beforehand: in *Yeast* there does not pretend to be any plot at all. *Hypatia* especially might have been so grand, and is so disappointing. There is consummate mastery of the costume and character of the epoch; there are magnificent materials of character and fancy brought together to the workshop; there are gorgeous descriptions of external beauty; there are individual scenes of thrilling interest; there are wonderful glimpses both of thought and passion. Raphael Aben Ezra's meditations when he gets to the "bottom of the abyss" of scepticism, and poor Pelagia's piercing remonstrances against the prospect of being consigned to the flames of hell for ever, are among the most powerful passages we have read in any language. But the inconsiderate confusion in which the incidents of the story jostle and stumble over one another, and the indistinctness with which many of them are told, compel us to reserve our admiration for particular scenes and portions, and render it impossible to praise the work as a whole. Mingled with our pleasure and our interest in reading it, and spoiling both, come the ever-recurring reflections, "How much more might have been made of this! how much better this might have been done! what a splendid conception, but what an unworthy and slovenly maltreatment of it!" Still, with all its faults, it is unquestionably a work of genius; but of genius in a hurry—of genius, as it were, shut up without

fire or candle, like an inharmonious jury, and compelled to complete its task before it can regain its liberty. The general picture of those times is imperfect and confused enough, not from want of knowledge, but from want of care and patience; the view of the great struggle between Christianity and Paganism, when the latter was an effete and dying unreality, and the former was insolent with rough young life and rampant with incipient victory,—which offered so magnificent a subject for a pen competent to deal with it,—is in our opinion most inadequately and mistily worked out; but, on the other hand, the extravagant follies and the brutal vices of the Alexandrian Christians, as well as the narrow bigotry, questionable motives, and unscrupulous violence of their leaders, are drawn with a powerful and unsparing hand. Philammon, the young monk who goes forth to see the world, is interesting and natural; so is the wily and cultivated Jew, first a cynical philosopher, and then a convert to the new religion; so also is Pelagia, the Athenian dancing-girl and courtesan—frivolous, pleasure-loving, and childish, undeveloped and soulless because untaught, unconsciously sinful because brought up to sin, but still endowed with some original elements of good, and therefore redeemable, and in the end redeemed. Hypatia, the beautiful teacher of a poetic philosophy and a poetic creed; the beautiful dweller in a beautiful cloud-land; the enthusiastic votary of the old gods of Greece; spotless, ethereal, noble, but a dreamer; vainly and wildly striving to save and fan the flickering embers of a fading past, and to brighten and animate with her own vivid life the chill and pallid moonlight of the pagan faith,—is grandly conceived and finely depicted. The other characters in the book seem to us either blotches or mere indicated outlines. The only extract we shall allow ourselves is the soliloquy of Pelagia, after she has been awakened by the denunciations and the pity of Philammon and Arsenius to the sinfulness of her life, and its reputed future issue:

“I cannot bear it! Any thing but shame! To have fancied all my life—vain fool that I was!—that every one loved and admired me; and to find that they were despising me, hating me, all along! . . . And yet women as bad as I have been honoured—when they were dead. What was that song I used to sing about Epicharis, who hung herself in the litter, and Leaina, who bit out her tongue, lest torture should drive them to betray their lovers? There used to be a statue of Leaina, they say, at Athens—a lioness without a tongue. . . . And whenever I sang the song, the theatre used to rise and shout, and call them noble and blessed. . . . I never could tell why then; but I know now! Perhaps they may call me noble, after all. At least they may say, ‘She was a —; but she dared to die for the man she loved!’ . . . Ay, but God despises me too, and hates me. He will send me to eternal fire. Philammon said so,—though he was my brother. The

old monk said so, though he wept as he said it. . . . The flames of hell for ever! Oh, not for ever. Great, dreadful God! not for ever! Indeed, I did not know! No one ever taught me about right and wrong; and I never knew I had been baptised,—indeed I never knew!—And it was so pleasant—so pleasant to be loved and praised and happy, and to see happy faces round me. How could I help it? The birds who are singing in the darling beloved court—they do what they like; and Thou art not angry with them for being happy. And Thou wilt not be more cruel to me than to them, great God,—for what did I know more than they? Thou hast made the beautiful sunshine, and the pleasant, pleasant world, and the flowers and the birds. Thou wilt not send me to burn for ever and ever? will not a hundred years be punishment enough?—or a thousand? O God, is not this punishment enough already,—to have to leave him just as—just as I am beginning to long to be good and to be worthy of him? . . . Oh! have mercy—mercy—mercy—and let me go after I have been punished enough! Why may I not turn into a bird, or even into a worm, and come back again out of that horrible place, to see the sun shine and the flowers grow once more? Oh! am not I punishing myself already? Will not this help to atone? . . . Yes, I will die!—and perhaps so God will pity me.' And with trembling hands she drew the sword from its sheath, and covered the blade with kisses. 'Yes, on this sword—with which he won his battles. That is right—his to the last. Will it be very painful?—After all, it is his sword; it will not have the heart to torture me much.'

Many of the same remarks we have made on *Hypatia* will apply to *Two Years ago*. To us this appears the cleverest and the pleasantest of Mr. Kingsley's novels; but it, like the rest, shows a singular absence of the artistic spirit. The plot is clumsy, and the winding-up and conversion of Tom Thurnall slovenly in the extreme. No man with an eye to the perfection of his work would have interwoven the irrelevant episode of Stangrave and Cordifamma. It is entirely out of place, and is very interrupting. But Mr. Kingsley wanted to say his say about slavery and America; he had a fine conception in his head, and some striking thoughts ready at his pen; so he thrust them in where they had no business, and spoiled one story by what would have afforded excellent materials for another. But the book is full of interest: Grace is charming, though unnatural; Valencia charming, because natural. Thomas Thurnall is a capital character, though here and there degenerating into harsh caricature: a better picture was never drawn of the unregenerate, good, *natural* man,—wild, reckless, worthy, and affectionate,—doing his duty, and doing well, not from any conscientiousness or religious faith, but from a simple, ungodly, innate love of whatever is true, honest, fitting, right, and kindly; self-confiding, bubbling over with animal vigour and animal spirits, very rough but very lovable. The poet

too,—vain, selfish, shallow, and unregulated, but honourable and aspiring,—is well conceived, and is a real and complete conception. As with *Hypatia*, we say of this book, “What a pity that what is so good should not have been better still!”

Before closing this paper, we have another of Mr. Kingsley's deficiencies to notice (their name is Legion, our readers will begin to think); and it is one somewhat difficult to handle, both from its nature and from its close connection with one of his most signal merits. Without intending it,—or it would be more correct to say, without being conscious of it,—he is not unfrequently coarse. We are aware that he would not admit the imputation, and that he really believes himself to be innocent; but on questions of this sort the common taste of cultivated men and women must decide. In his treatment of love and the relation between the sexes, while sometimes excellent, he is sometimes also needlessly venturesome and grating. The plain truth is (and we may as well speak out), that his theory on this and cognate subjects, though we incline to think it sound, is one which can only be acted upon safely by writers whose courage and whose feelings are under the guidance of the most sensitively correct taste. He likes to call things by their plain names; a fancy with which, in moderation, we sympathise. He thinks, further, that in treating of the various questions arising out of the relations between the sexes, we lose much and risk much by a mischievous reticence and a false and excessive delicacy; and in this opinion also we agree with him. But in reference to both these peculiarities, his rampancy and daring make him a dangerous ally. He rides so near the boundary, that you are in perpetual uneasiness lest he should pass it. His view of love is, we think, true, chaste, and noble; and much needs to be asserted and upheld. Macaulay somewhere says of Southey, that he had no conception of genuine human love, “that all his heroes made love like seraphim or like cattle.” Mr. Kingsley's heroes avoid both extremes; he proclaims—with a courage which, in a clergyman especially, is above all praise—the rights of nature, and the intrinsic purity of natural instincts; he blends, more than any writer we know, the warmth with the nobility of passion, and is resolutely bent on showing that the most passionate love may also be the purest, if only it be legitimate in its circumstances and worthy in its object. He seems to have almost grasped the grand cardinal truth, that the real guilt lies, not in mingling the gratification of passion with the sentiment of love, but in ever for one moment permitting the former save under the guidance and sanction of the latter. But here again that predominant appreciation of the *physical*,

which we have already commented upon, is unpleasantly manifest; the *Saint's Tragedy* contains passages which the more sensitive taste of Mr. Kingsley's friend and Mentor* would have omitted; and in other of his stories, what we may call the "animal magnetism" of love, in distinction to its finer sentiment, is made too much of, and brought too prominently forward. The heroines are too sensitive to the influence of look and touch; the heroes win them rather by mesmerism than by courtship. There is an undoubted element of fact in all this; but whether it be wise to paint it so strongly, or to dwell on it so much, may well be questioned.

For the fierce denunciation with which Mr. Kingsley assails the brutal ascetics of former times and their puny imitators in our own days, we tender him our most cordial gratitude and admiration. He hates them with a truly holy hatred. Asceticism is the form which religion takes in sensual minds, and in those weaker spirits over whom sensualists sometimes exercise so fatal and degrading a supremacy. When we think of the holy joys that have been poisoned, of the healthy souls that have been diseased, of the fine natures that have been made coarse, of happy lives embittered and bright lives darkened, of noble minds overset and pure minds soiled, by the foul fancies and the false doctrines which these men have invented to trample upon nature and to outrage all its sweet humanities, we feel that no terms of wrath or condemnation can be too unmeasured to apply to them. The strength and justice of Mr. Kingsley's sentiments on this subject would incline us perhaps too readily to pardon the coarseness observable in the *Saint's Tragedy* and in *Hypatia*, were they really necessary for the purpose he has in view, which we do not think they are.

We have spoken freely and without stint of Mr. Kingsley's errors and offences, because he is strong and can bear it well; because he is somewhat pachydermatous, and will not feel it much; because it is well for a man who habitually speaks of others in such outrageous terms, to have his own measure occasionally meted out to him in return; because, also, one who sins against so much light and knowledge deserves to be beaten with many stripes; and because, finally, on a previous occasion we did such ample justice to his merits. But we should grieve to have it believed that we are insensible to his remarkable and varied excellences, or to part from him otherwise than in a spirit of thorough and cordial appreciation. In spite of much that is rant, and of much that would be twaddle if it were not so energetic, there is such wonderful "go" in him, such exulting and abounding vigour, and he carries you along with a careering and

* See the Preface, by Mr. Maurice.

facile rapidity which, while it puts you out of breath, is yet so strangely exhilarating, that old and young never fail to find pleasure in his pages. He may often wander, but he never sleeps. He has, however, far higher claims on our admiration than any arising from these merely literary merits. And in an age like this, of vehement desires and feeble wills, of so much conventionalism and so little courage,—when our favourite virtue is indulgence to others, and our commonest vice is indulgence to self,—when few things are heartily loved, and fewer still are heartily believed,—when we are slaves to what others think, and wish, and do—slaves to past creeds in which we have no longer faith, slaves to past habits in which we have no longer pleasure, slaves to past phrases from which all the meaning has died out,—when the ablest and tenderest minds are afraid to think deeply, because they know not where deep thought might land them, and are afraid to act thoroughly, because they shrink from what thorough action might entail,—when too many lead a life of conscious unworthiness and unreality, because surrounded by evils with which they dare not grapple, and by darkness which they dare not pierce;—in such an age, amid such wants and such shortcomings, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to a crusader like Mr. Kingsley, whose faith is undoubting, and whose courage is unflinching; who neither fears others, nor mistrusts himself; who hates with a destructive and aggressive animosity whatever is evil, mean, filthy, weak, hollow, and untrue; who has drawn his sword and girded up his loins for a work which cannot be passed by, and which must not be negligently done; whose practice himself, and whose exhortation to others, is, in the words of the great German,

“ Im halben zu entwöhnen,
Im ganzen, guten, wahren, resolut zu leben.”

ART. II.—THE FOREIGN OFFICE: CLASSIC OR GOTHIC.

Report from the Select Committee on Foreign-Office Reconstruction, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 13, 1858.

Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future. By George Gilbert Scott, A.R.A. London: 1857.

Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England from the Conquest to Henry VIII. By the Editor of the “Glossary of Architecture.” Four volumes. Oxford and London: 1851-9.

THE subject of mediæval architecture has now for a good many years drawn to itself a large share of public attention. Its vo-

taries have been very many and very diligent. They have even been numerous enough to form several distinct schools, who have sometimes regarded one another with rather more jealousy than was needed. There has been a purely antiquarian, an æsthetical, and an ecclesiastical school, all studying the same objects from three different points of view. All three have, in their several ways, added to our stock of knowledge upon the subject. All three, but the last two more directly, have contributed to that great practical revival of mediæval architecture which has gone hand-in-hand with its speculative study. All three, perhaps, but most certainly the ecclesiastical school, have done something to damage their own cause. But the result of the whole has been, that the subject has made a most marvellous advance within the last thirty years. At the beginning of the century a few people tried to explain the history and principles of Gothic architecture, and a few people tried to reproduce Gothic buildings in stone and mortar. Both classes, especially the former, are to be held in respect as having paved the way for better things; but, viewing them from our present position, we cannot help pronouncing that the attempts of both were alike failures. Now we have one set of men who can explain the date and the purpose of every stone in an ancient building; we have another—the men are sometimes the same, but the office is different—who can explain equally well the successive development of successive styles, and the ruling principles of each; and we have a third class, practical architects and their employers, who have learned first to imitate, and now, we think,—something more than to imitate,—really to reproduce, buildings worthy of the best days of mediæval art. With Professor Willis to explain the history of particular buildings, with Mr. Petit to explain the characteristics of successive styles, and with Mr. Scott to embody their teaching in such glorious shapes as the new chapel of Exeter College, the progress of the present generation beyond the last is wonderful indeed.

In the ecclesiastical department Gothic architecture appears to have completely triumphed. Nearly every church, every Roman-Catholic chapel, built for some years past is, in some form or other, Gothic. If there is a very small class which are otherwise, they are at once felt as exceptions to a common rule. But it is not merely Anglican and Roman-Catholic churches which exhibit the prevalent taste for Gothic; the style has begun to be largely employed—sometimes by no means unsuccessfully employed—for Dissenting chapels also. Mr. Spurgeon, indeed, thinks that Gothic architecture was invented by the devil; but he seems to be far from carrying the whole of his brethren with him. Gothic art has even made considerable

advances in a quarter where one would perhaps have still less expected it, in the Free Church of Scotland. In short, in the Established Church its triumph has been complete; and in other religious bodies its success has been very considerable. And from churches it has extended itself to that class of buildings which combine something of the ecclesiastical with the domestic character. Parsonages, schools, colleges, are now commonly Gothic: Anglican or Roman-Catholic foundations are almost universally so; those of other communions very frequently. In short, Gothic has become the recognised style for ecclesiastical purposes. We are not sure that this has not been something of a stumbling-block in the way of its becoming the recognised style for general purposes; still, the ecclesiastical triumph of Gothic architecture, its almost universal adoption, the perfection to which it is carried in the best new churches, form a very great and very remarkable success.

The great question with regard to Gothic architecture just now is that practical one which the proposed rebuilding of the Foreign Office has brought before the mind of the nation at large: How far is Gothic architecture suited to modern civil and domestic purposes? Twenty years ago, indeed, the question might seem to have been decided in favour of Gothic by the adoption of that style for the new Houses of Parliament. This was a premature success, which has, in the long-run, damaged the Gothic cause. The new Houses of Parliament have many faults. We suspect that in certain quarters there is a disposition to exaggerate those faults. We believe that the official and parliamentary mind is sharper in discerning them than that of the general public. Still, in any case, the building is by no means faultless; and the mere fact that so many accusations are brought against it is itself a phenomenon to be explained. Certain it is that the new Houses are assailed from various quarters. Haters of Gothic object to them as being Gothic; lovers of Gothic object to them as not being good Gothic; economists say that they have been needlessly costly; and those who ought best to know say that they are practically inconvenient. Many minds have drawn from all this the not unnatural inference that the experiment of employing Gothic for a great national building has been fairly tried, and has failed. Not only its marked ecclesiastical success, but its premature civil success, has tended not a little to depreciate the value of secular Gothic architecture in the mind of a large body of those who do not stop to examine matters below the surface.

The whole question, in short, is one which is clouded over with misconceptions of all kinds—historical, artistic, and practical; and it has had the further special misfortune to get mixed

up with political and theological controversies with which it has no sort of natural connection. We believe that the best service we can do, is to clear away these misconceptions one by one; and we hope our more thoughtful and well-informed readers will forgive us if we find it necessary to go back pretty much to first principles, and to take some trouble about propositions which are really hardly better than truisms. Some of the most prevalent and most mischievous misconceptions are grounded on such total ignorance of the subject, that one is almost ashamed gravely to answer them; but statements made within the walls of Parliament derive from the place of their promulgation a practical importance, which is increased a hundred-fold when they are made by the First Minister of the Crown. Had Lord Palmerston's anti-Gothic speeches come before us in the form of an anonymous pamphlet, we should certainly not have gone out of our way to write an article in answer to them. But when they appear as speeches made in the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, though their strength as argument is in no way increased, yet they derive an adventitious importance which makes it impossible to pass them by.

First of all, the very names commonly given to the contending styles are altogether misleading. "Classic and Gothic,"—to not a few minds the two words convey some misty idea that the struggle is one between civilisation and barbarism, between night and darkness, almost between Ormuzd and Ahriman. Lord Palmerston is the champion of the pure and beautiful style of civilised Greeks and Romans; while Lord John Manners is the votary of the barbarous devices of savage Goths and Vandals. To one who knows any thing of the history of architecture, this seems rubbish not worth answering; but we must not let squeamishness of this sort let us in for a Foreign Office designed or approved by Mr. Tite. "Classic" architecture is not classic at all; nor is "Gothic" architecture Gothic in the sense in which people take it to be. People fancy Gothic architecture has something to do with the Goths, and they further fancy that the Goths were nothing but barbarians and destroyers. At the end of the last century it was commonly believed* that Gothic architecture was invented by the Goths when they had altogether "overrun the Roman empire;" and there is no doubt that the belief has not died out even in the present generation. The word "Goth" has become a proverb for barbarism;† Mr. Layard, even in the House of Commons, classes together

* For some curious references on this head see Freeman's *History of Architecture*, p. 298.

† We need hardly gather together instances, but there is one in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ii. 385, Oxf. ed. 1826) too good to be passed by:

"Johnson expressed his disapprobation of ornamental architecture, such as

"Goths, Huns, and Vandals." Now it would be very hard to show that the Goths at all deserved the character popularly given them as despisers and destroyers of ancient art. We know of no evidence implicating any single Goth in any act of wanton destruction: on the contrary, they looked with the profoundest reverence on the great works which they found in Italy; their king, Theodoric, was the great preserver and restorer of the Roman monuments, which, but for him, would have gone to ruin. The real destroyers were the Italians themselves; the partisan warfare, sometimes the baser cupidity, of the popes, cardinals, and barons of much later times really did the work which is unfairly laid to the charge of Goths and Vandals. The Vandals, indeed, we do not undertake to defend; Genseric really did something in the way of destruction; but what Genseric laid bare, Theodoric replaced: the real damage was done when Robert Guiscard burnt half Rome by way of delivering its pontiff; when the Orsini, the Colonna, and the Frangipani turned every ancient building into a fortress; and when papal nephews converted them to the still baser use of a quarry:

"Quod non fecere barbari, fecere Barberini."

In a word, Gothic architecture has nothing to do with the Goths; but we cannot see that it would be at all a disgraceful origin if it had.

And if Gothic architecture is not Gothic, Classic architecture is not classic. People, some of whom ought to know better, are fond of epigrammatic sayings about "the Greeks and Goths." There are neither Greeks nor Goths in the business. The rival style is not Grecian, it is not even Roman; it is the Italian of the *Renaissance*. The essence of Grecian architecture is to be an architecture of the entablature, not of the arch. It is an architecture of porticos, of columns, and architraves; not an architecture of walls and windows. Perfect in its loveliness as a matter of art, perfect in its adaptation to its own uses, Greek temple architecture is simply impossible in England; you cannot apply it to modern English purposes without spoiling it. In fact, it has been tried and has failed; its utmost achievement has been to attach porticos, sometimes very beautiful in themselves, to buildings with which they had no possible connection. We do not remember whether pure Grecian architecture was attempted in any of the designs sent in for the Foreign-Office competition; it certainly was not in any of those which have at all trod on the heels of Mr. magnificent columns supporting a portico, or expensive pilasters supporting merely their own capitals, 'because it consumes labour disproportionate to its utility.'"

Mr. Gwyn, an architect, it seems, was present; and, as Boswell says, "the spirit of the artist rose against what he thought a Gothic attack." Did either Johnson or Boswell know that they had very nearly stumbled between them upon the distinctive character of Gothic decoration as distinguished from Italian?

Scott. To call the modern Italian style "Grecian" or "Classic," is to give it a delusive name of honour; just as to call mediæval architecture "Gothic" is, with many people, to give a dog a bad name and hang him. To talk about "Greeks and Goths" merely confuses the whole matter. If we may return epigram for epigram, we should say that the dispute is not between Alaric and Pericles, not even between Theodoric and Augustus, but between St. Louis and Cæsar Borgia, between Robert Grosseteste and Alexander VI.

But perhaps more formidable than this is the objection drawn from the supposed specially ecclesiastical character of Gothic architecture. This idea is a pure delusion, but it is one most widely prevalent; it is one that takes very various forms, and it is one to whose currency friends and foes have alike contributed. Mr. Spurgeon, as we have seen, thinks Gothic architecture was invented by the devil. We do not agree with the sentiment; but we decidedly respect its author for his plainness of speech. He puts a popular objection in its strongest and clearest shape. That Gothic architecture was invented by the devil is of course a natural inference from the very prevalent notion that it has something to do with the Pope. Gothic architecture is supposed to be a dark, gloomy, mysterious, in a word, Popish style; transubstantiation lurks in its deeply-cut mouldings, and the floriated wreaths of its capitals do but conceal such snakes-in-the-grass as the Immaculate Conception. As for its tracery, its mullions, transoms, cusps, and foils, they are confessedly only devices for keeping out the pure light of Protestantism. It is a style—has not the Premier himself told us?—fit only for a monastery or a Jesuit college. To be sure, the Jesuits,—men tolerably wise in their generation,—never themselves found out this special fitness for their purposes; but Lord Palmerston has said it, Mr. Tite has endorsed it, Mr. Coningham has cried "hear, hear" to it: how can we venture to set ourselves against such a phalanx of artistic, historical, and theological authorities? Let us allow that it is Popish, if only the great political divine will give us an exact definition of Popery, in all its bearings, theological, political, moral, and artistic.

Now a "*tu quoque*" is confessedly not a high style of argument, but sometimes the temptation to it is too strong for human nature. When Mr. Coningham tells us that we are Papists because of our Gothic tendencies, we cannot help answering, "You are another." Very likely our theological discernment is less acute; we cannot see how a style of architecture can be of any particular religious creed; we do not see how a pointed arch can be more Popish than a round one, or a round arch more Protestant than a pointed one. Still, if there is

such a thing in the world as a Popish style,—if there are any architectural forms on which the mark of the Beast is indelibly impressed,—it is surely that very Revived Italian style which we are called upon to accept in the name of pure Protestantism. If English Gothic buildings are Popish because those who built them paid a very feeble and very unwilling allegiance to the Pope, what are we to call those which were built by the Pope himself? The great patrons of Revived Italian were the Popes themselves, in the vilest period of the Popedom. The masterpiece of the style was one of the immediate occasions of the Reformation. The wrath of Luther was first stirred up by the sale of indulgences: the indulgences were sold to supply the means of building St. Peter's; St. Peter's is the great wonder and glory of Revived Italian architecture. If it were not sheer nonsense to talk of a style of architecture being either Popish or Protestant, we think our charge of Popery against the Revived Italian style would be unanswerably made out.

The prejudice against Gothic architecture as being Popish, or worse than Popish, "Puseyite," is utterly unreasonable, and is belied by facts. Yet we are not in the least surprised at its existence. A large and zealous class of Gothic revivalists have only to thank themselves for it. Mr. Pugin, among the Roman Catholics, and the Cambridge Camden school in the Church of England, took up the subject in a way which could have no other result. Gothic architecture was put forth as exclusively Christian and Catholic; every other style was loathed as heathen. The details of mediæval architecture, and of mediæval ritualism, were studied by the same persons, and treated of in the same books, not as matters of legitimate antiquarian study, but as equally demanding imitation in the nineteenth century. Mr. Paley, whose brain was far less heated than those of some of his brethren, could not put forth his valuable treatise on mouldings, the very driest and most technical portion of the whole subject, without a dedication talking about "the cause of Catholic art." Messrs. Webb and Neale translated the frivolous and stupid reveries of Durandus, which became the gospel of one generation of "ecclesiologists." There was no beauty without symbolism, and no symbolism without beauty. In short, the publications of the Cambridge Society and its leaders contained at least as much polemical theology as they did antiquarian information or artistic criticism. Mr. Freeman, in the contemporary Oxford Society, never went these lengths, and always rejected the

* In the same way, at this very moment, the extreme Ultramontane party among English Roman Catholics—the Oratorians, for instance—object to Gothic; while those who, though Roman Catholics, have not ceased to be Englishmen, such as the school of Mr. Pugin, prefer it.

"symbolical theory." In his *History of Architecture*, he always gives historical and artistic considerations their primary place, and frequently protests against the extravagances of his allies. Yet even his book is often disfigured by irrelevant ecclesiastical matters, of which he seems glad to make a kind of retraction, both in his preface, and in his later work on *Window Tracery*. A very large body of the students of Gothic architecture took it up on this kind of polemical ground. It was not architecture, as architecture, that they cared about, but what they rather affectedly called Ecclesiology.

It is very true that all this time Gothic architecture was being steadily studied and advanced by men against whom no charge of the kind could possibly be brought. Mr. Rickman, being a Quaker, was certainly not a Roman Catholic. No charge of Popery or "Puseyism," that we ever heard of, has been brought against Dr. Whewell, Professor Willis, or Mr. Petit. Yet Professor Willis is the great master of the constructive, and Mr. Petit of the æsthetical, branch of the subject. Mr. Petit, indeed, has since changed sides; he is perhaps the only apostate whom we have to mourn. While every other student of ancient Gothic art wishes to see it revived in modern works, he alone admires the old ones so much, that he cannot bear to see them profaned by modern imitations.* We deeply lament the loss of such an ally; but it does not lessen the value of his past services. Mr. Parker, indeed, who may rank alongside of them as the master of purely antiquarian detail, may possibly have incurred suspicion as the publisher of much Anglo-Catholic divinity; but we do not think that all Exeter Hall combined would scent out any Popery in the *Glossary of Architecture*. The labours of all these distinguished men were known and honoured by real students of the subject; but they did not make so much noise in the world as the high "Ecclesiological" school. The revival of Gothic architecture, and the revival of what were called "Popish practices," went hand in hand. The two were advocated in the same books, and were practically carried out in the same buildings. The churches which most successfully carried out a particular style were not uncommonly arranged and decorated in a particular manner. Of course, the two things had really nothing to do with each other; but it would have been a marvel indeed if they had not become confused in popular estimation. That Gothic architecture has any necessary or probable Popish tendency, is one of the most ludicrous of fal-

* Mr. Petit seems also, from the concluding chapter of his splendid *Architectural Studies in France*, to have been led away by some misty and incomprehensible ethnological theory about "Goths." There is no greater pity in this world than when an able man leaves a subject which he fully understands, to write nonsense about one which he does not.

lacies; but that a great many people thought so was in very truth the fault of no one so much as of one influential section of the Gothicists themselves.

But, besides those who think that Gothic architecture is something Popish or Puseyite, fit only for a monastery or a Jesuit's college, there is another class who willingly admit that Gothic is a good style for churches, but who deny that it is a good style for houses or Foreign Offices. This misconception is a fallacy quite as great, and also quite as natural, as the last. It arises from several causes.

First of all, a little thought will show that, as it is nonsense to say that a style of architecture, as such, is Christian or Heathen, Catholic or Protestant, it is equally nonsense to say that it is good for ecclesiastical buildings, and bad for civil; or good for civil, and bad for ecclesiastical. We say, without the least hesitation, if Gothic can be shown to be the best style for a church, it follows that it is the best style for a Foreign Office; if Italian can be shown to be the best style for a Foreign Office, it follows that it is the best style for a church. To many people, we have no doubt, this sounds like a paradox; it is in reality a truism. The belief to the contrary arises from not realising what a style of architecture is. A style of architecture is not determined by the shape or proportion of the buildings which are built in it, but by its construction and its detail. It is not of the essence of a Gothic building to be long, tall, and narrow, like a mediæval church; it is not of its essence to have narrow windows, and those obscured by stained glass. You may build a church as mediæval as you please in proportion and arrangement, whose style shall be as remote from Gothic as may be wished. St. Eustache at Paris is in composition a mediæval temple of the noblest kind, but it is most certainly not Gothic in style. St. Paul's Cathedral has all the parts of a mediæval minster hardly less fully developed than St. Peter's Abbey. Cardinal Wiseman would at once find an ecclesiastical use for many parts of it which now stand wholly empty, or garnished only with figures of Neptune and Britannia, which certainly do not seem in their places. On the other hand, a building may be of any shape you please, and yet be purely Gothic. The proportions of Westminster Hall are as different as may be from those of Westminster Abbey, yet both are Gothic alike. Not to go beyond the limits of ecclesiastical structures, the huge broad brick churches of Aquitaine and Languedoc—such as the glorious cathedral of Alby, without aisles or transepts, but with a single vaulted body of enormous span—are as purely Gothic as Westminster or St. Owen's. Yet in shape and proportion they differ almost as much from an English or from a French cathedral,

as do the domical churches of Perigueux or Byzantium. But, in reality, you may, if you like, build a square meeting-house which shall be as purely Gothic as York Minster. It might be more difficult to build a semicircular Gothic lecture-room,—though we believe there are Gothic architects ready to accept the challenge; but in any case you might avoid the difficulty by making it polygonal, which is practically the same thing as circular. A Gothic building is one which, when an arch is wanted, employs by preference the pointed form, and which accompanies that form by an appropriate system of detail.* It must not leave any square edges to its jambs; they must be moulded, or, at the very least, chamfered. It may not require any pillars; but if it does, they should be clustered or octagonal rather than round. It may not require any decorative shafts; but if it has any, their abaci should be round or octagonal rather than square. Its windows may be of any size or shape; if the position allows it, an arched, and therefore a pointed, head is desirable; if it is more convenient to make them square, round, or triangular, square, round, or triangular they may be. They may be narrow, they may be wide; only, if they are wide enough to require divisions, those divisions should take the form of ornamental tracery. Finally, its roof may be of any kind; but a stone vault is the best in any position which allows it.† It is evident that all these things may exist in a building of any shape, and designed for any use. It is undoubtedly true, that it is in a great minster that Gothic architecture has the best opportunity of displaying its highest powers. But so it is with every other style. In every style its churches or temples, whether Christian or heathen, are its noblest works. A Gothic building, an Italian one, or one of any other style, is distinguished by its mechanical construction and its artistic details; things which are altogether independent of the use of the building, or of its proportion, which must mainly depend upon its use.

The merits of a style of architecture are its beauty, its constructive reality, its practical convenience, its comparative cheapness, and lastly, its nationality. We hope shortly to show that in none of those is Gothic surpassed by Italian, while in most of them Italian is surpassed by Gothic. But what at present we wish to insist on, is, that whichever of the two is

* This definition is worked out at large in Freeman's *History of Architecture*, pp. 300 et seq. The general positions laid down are quite sound; but the writer has clearly had ecclesiastical buildings too exclusively before his mind.

† It is curious to see how the stone vault is almost confined to the highest and the lowest efforts of Gothic art—to its grand churches, and to the subordinate parts of domestic buildings. The cause is, because they are physically the highest and the lowest. The proportions of rooms in a house would hardly ever admit of a vault. A great hall is too broad, a small one is too low.

found by this standard to be the better, is necessarily the better for all purposes; and that it is unreasonable to talk of one style being better for a Cathedral, and another for a Foreign Office. If we survey the whole history of art, we shall find this notion, of one style for religious, and another for secular purposes, is utterly without precedent any where. In old Greece, at Rome, in mediæval Europe, temples, houses, public buildings, were all built in one and the same style. Shape and proportion of course varied, but style was one. A Greek or Roman house had a very different plan from a Greek or Roman temple; but a house of sufficient dignity to possess colonnades, had colonnades of the same kind of pillars as those in a temple. So it was in the days of Gothic art; houses were built in exactly the same style as churches. And not only were houses built in the same style as churches, but "the sacred details of Christian art" were profaned by being employed in the temples of another worship. Where the Jews were allowed sufficient freedom, they built themselves synagogues, and those synagogues* were, like all other contemporary buildings, Gothic. So when Italian supplanted Gothic, it supplanted it in churches no less than in houses. Perhaps it never quite supplanted it in either; but Sir Christopher Wren did not say "Italian for houses, Gothic for churches;" when he built Gothic in either, it was not by his own choosing. Whether in any or all of these periods civil architecture was most influenced by religious, or religious by civil, it is really idle to examine. Probably in all cases the civil was most influenced by the religious, simply because the temples of every style were its noblest buildings. But this does not prove Gothic, any more than Italian, to be, in the strange phrase of some of its enemies, "a church style." The real point is, that in all ages of good architecture, the religious and the civil style have always been the same.

This last remark leads us to another misconception, which has done much to discredit the cause of secular Gothic in England. People do not realise the fact that Gothic ever was a prevalent civil style. Mr. Parker's beautiful volumes on English Domestic Architecture come in most opportunely to drive away this error. His book opens to us a vast store of exquisite remains of mediæval civil architecture, still existing in our own country, and gives some glimpses of the far richer stores which exist in other lands. The popular ignorance on this subject is truly amazing. Our land is still studded with beautiful fragments of mediæval domestic art; only the difficulty is, to make

* Mr. Scott, in his *Faithful Restoration of Ancient Churches*, has given a most striking account of the mediæval synagogue in Prague, of the best Gothic work.

people believe that they are domestic. Every practical antiquary knows how inveterate is the notion that every mediæval building must be a church, or at all events an abbey. Good plain manor-houses are said to have been lived in by monks; halls are shown as chapels; the least fragment of a Gothic door or window is at once set down as part of an ecclesiastical building. Some zealots, some years back, raised a storm of abuse against the magistrates of Hampshire for having the assizes held in a "desecrated church;" the desecrated church being no other than the great hall of the king's palace at Winchester. It is hard to guess whether people fancy that all their forefathers were perjured monks, or whether they think that the mediæval laity lived in tents or in dens and caves of the earth. This notion of the specially ecclesiastical character of Gothic is in truth a mere superstition, like the notions about confessionals and subterranean passages; but it is a superstition which is just now doing a great deal of practical harm.

The cause of this error doubtless is, that though the remains of Gothic domestic architecture in England are positively very abundant, yet they are but few and far between when compared with the ecclesiastical remains. For a parish to possess a Gothic church is the common rule; but for the parish also to contain an ancient Gothic house, is, except in some particular counties, the exception. You may go through large towns containing several fine Gothic churches, and not see so much as a fragment of Gothic domestic detail. But this is simply because the domestic buildings have been so much more extensively destroyed than the ecclesiastical. In many districts houses were commonly of wood; in all, their actual accommodation was small and mean compared with what modern refinement or luxury requires. Hence our Gothic houses have very commonly perished. And again, our English towns never acquired during the middle ages that amount of commercial wealth, or of local independence, which could lead to the erection, as in the cities of the Netherlands, of civic public buildings rivalling the proudest minsters in architectural splendour. In England our domestic remains are for the most part small and fragmentary. But in France it is not so. Look at Rouen, with its Palace of Justice; look at Bourges, with its house of Jaques Cœur; look at Limoges and Perigueux and St. Emilion, where some specimen of Gothic domestic work meets you at every step, where there are almost more mediæval houses than there are later ones. Still less is it so in the old free cities of Germany, and in the hardly less free cities of Flanders and Brabant. The fact is simply this,—in the middle ages, an English town was commonly less rich than a continental one; now the case is reversed.

The consequence is twofold: the English mediæval houses were at once less worth preserving than the continental ones, and there has been more wealth able to be laid out in rebuilding them. Hence domestic Gothic has, in this purely accidental way, become much rarer in this country than on the Continent, and hence people, seeing Gothic churches constantly, and Gothic houses but seldom, have fallen into the very erroneous notion that Gothic is a specially ecclesiastical style.

Closely connected with this mistake is one still more fatally impeding the cause of civil Gothic architecture,—the notion, which we have already mentioned, that it has been fairly tried, and has failed. Up to this time it is certainly true that the Gothic revival has been much less successful with houses than with churches. This is owing to several causes. It is only quite lately that any of our best Gothic architects have seriously turned their attention to domestic work. Mr. Scott had won high fame as an ecclesiastical architect before he either wrote his most thoughtful and practical book on *Domestic Architecture*, or had himself produced any important Gothic secular building. The commonwealth of Hamburg did not choose him to rebuild their senate-house till they had already tried his skill in the splendid church of St. Nicholas. Any thing like a real revival of civil Gothic is very recent indeed. An attempt at it, indeed, actually preceded the ecclesiastical revival; but its products were something worse even than the worst of modern Gothic churches. And no wonder, for there were at least plenty of ancient Gothic churches for the revivalists to imitate, while they seem to have been absolutely ignorant that there were any Gothic houses. The only Gothic buildings of which people seem to have had any notion at the beginning of this century were abbeys and castles. Hence arose the folly so justly and so unmercifully lashed by Mr. Pugin. People wanted to build Gothic houses; and by way of Gothic houses they lodged themselves, some in sham abbeys, and others in sham castles. Undoubtedly, some of our very noblest examples of domestic architecture are to be found within the walls of our mediæval castles; such buildings, for instance, as the halls of Conway, Chepstow, and Caerphilly. But of course a castle, looked at as a whole, is an utterly inappropriate model for a modern house; yet the "Gothic" architects of those days thought it essential to Gothicism to give you all the gateways and towers and turrets which Edward I. had found necessary to keep down the turbulent countrymen of Llwelyn. To be sure, in many cases they looked very like a gingerbread or card-board imitation, but there they were; an Englishman's house is his castle, and why should he not make it look like what it is? The buildings thus produced were

intensely ludicrous, because intensely unreal, as pieces of architecture; and they moreover proved any thing but convenient as modern dwelling-houses. Vagaries of this sort naturally brought Gothic civil architecture into discredit. Then came the great experiment of the Houses of Parliament, which supplies the anti-Gothic party with their most constantly-repeated argument. "Gothic has been tried in the Houses of Parliament, and Gothic has failed; the Houses of Parliament are uncomfortable and inconvenient; therefore we will have no more Gothic for our public buildings." This argument, or rather this fallacy, has been answered over and over again; but the oftener it is answered, the oftener it is repeated unaltered,—according to the style of logic which Lord Macaulay attributes to James II. We must therefore ask our readers to bear with us while we answer it yet again, even at the risk of saying what they may have heard or read half-a-dozen times already.

Now, first of all, whether the objections to the Houses of Parliament are well or ill founded,—and we suspect they are not all quite so well founded as is sometimes taken for granted,—a good many of them have nothing to do with styles of architecture at all. The building may be ill ventilated; but good or bad ventilation has nothing whatever to do with the question between Gothic or Italian. A round arch and a pointed one allow exactly the same freedom of passage to a given current of air. The building may be incommodious, but that is not the fault of its architectural style. If Sir Charles Barry has any where sacrificed the practical objects of the building to any notion of the æsthetical requirements of the style, he has therein sinned against an architectural law higher than any controversies about particular styles. Neither Gothic nor Italian, in the hands of a master of either, requires any such sacrifice. If such be the case, it is not Gothic which is in fault, but Sir Charles Barry's false conception of the requirements of Gothic. Again, the building is said to be needlessly costly. And no wonder. It is overloaded with masses of ornament copied from Henry VII.'s Chapel, which we feel sure that no mediæval architect would have thought of adding to a building of this nature.

Secondly, granting that Gothic has practically failed in the hands of Sir Charles Barry, that affords no sort of presumption that it will fail in the hands of Mr. Scott. We do not wish to speak a single disrespectful word of Sir Charles. Compared with the ideal perfection of a Gothic building, his work is certainly a failure; but, under the circumstances of the case, it is a very great success. It is not positively good, but it is highly creditable to Sir Charles Barry that it is not much worse. Sir Charles Barry's whole experience, his whole sympathies, lay in

another line; he was an Italian architect working in Gothic against the grain: real success in such a case was impossible; he did not even succeed so far as his great predecessor Wren did in the like case. Wren despised Gothic, and knew nothing of Gothic detail; but he had the eye of a consummate architect. When constrained to work in Gothic, he caught at once the general conception of what he was to produce. His towers, both at Westminster and at Warwick, have the true Gothic outline, though their details are wretched beyond expression. Sir Charles Barry, on the other hand, has given us a front whose general feeling is Italian, and has overlaid it with Gothic detail of a purity unknown to Sir Christopher. But we must remember, it is twenty years since—twenty years of unspeakable importance in the history of art. Twenty years ago many of our rising architects were children; Mr. Scott himself was far from being what he is now. The true principles of Gothic architecture, above all, of civil Gothic architecture, were then so little known, that we very much doubt whether a better design could then have been had. Sir Charles Barry had at any rate sense enough to preserve him from any monstrous absurdity; he knew that he was building a house and not a church. He did not, like one of his competitors,—whose name we forget, but who afterwards published his designs,—send in a composition which we can only describe as two French cathedrals running full tilt against one another. Of his two towers, indeed, one, we think, is ugly in itself, the other is too ecclesiastical. But these are really small charges to bring against a design now almost a generation old. The building at least proclaims itself to be what it is, a great civil public building. We may be very thankful that it is not a sham minster or a sham castle. But had it been bad with the badness of that yet earlier state of things, even that would prove nothing against Gothic in 1860 in the hands of Mr. Scott. Nothing but wilful blindness can shut its eyes to the fact, that the twenty years of architectural study which have intervened,—we should add, the far greater architectural genius of Mr. Scott,—just make all the difference between the two cases. There is no knowing what may happen; Mr. Scott may fail as well as Sir Charles Barry; but, at any rate, let us be fair and logical. Sir Charles Barry has failed; his failure does not afford the slightest presumption that Mr. Scott will be equally unlucky.

These are the main objections; there are a few more trifling ones, which we may clear off in a very summary way. To admire Gothic art, especially to support Mr. Scott's design, is held to be the badge of a sect or a party; sometimes it would seem political, and sometimes religious. This is a development of the

Popish and Puseyite cry. The odd thing is, that we believe nobody has ever connected Mr. Scott personally with controversy of either kind, though the cry is at once brought up against his partisans. The only time that we ever saw Mr. Scott's name brought into connection with polemics of any kind was when he designed a noble church for the city of Hamburg, and was forthwith attacked by the Ecclesiological party for profaning "the sacred details of Christian art" by their employment in a "Lutheran meeting-house." We should have thought that this little bit of martyrdom was rather a claim upon the sympathies of Exeter Hall. The Gotho-Scottish sect must at least be very elastic; it is indeed a happy family which takes in Lord John Manners, Mr. Beresford Hope, Lord Elcho, Mr. Stirling, and Sir Joseph Paxton, we believe we may add Mr. Pease, to say nothing of the republic of Hamburg. We do not mean to be uncharitable, but we do know what political parties are; we know how very pleasant it is to rake up any thing against those who fill the seats which we have just left. Only suppose Lord John Manners had been a champion of "Tite and the Greeks," would not Lord Palmerston and Lord Llanover have found out that "Scott and the Goths" were exactly the thing that they wanted?

But Gothic is dark, it is irregular, it is too light, it is monotonous, it is foreign, it is an innovation, it is whatever it comes into Lord Palmerston's head to call it. Lord Palmerston, we all know, is the privileged wit of the House of Commons; whatever he says, it is no more than parliamentary etiquette to cheer and to laugh at it. If the noble lord chooses to say that Gothic buildings are necessarily irregular and dark, the remark draws forth "cheers and laughter;" if he says a few minutes after that they are necessarily monotonous and unpleasantly light, the "cheers and laughter" come as naturally as before. We will only stop to remark, that every one who knows any thing about it knows that one great characteristic, one great advantage, of Gothic is its wonderful elasticity in the way of windows. They may be simply of any size or shape that is wanted. If you like mere loopholes, you may have them; if you like to have a wall with more glass than stone in it, you may have that instead; and you need not run into either of these extremes; there are plenty of examples of the true *via media*. Moreover it is worth noticing, that in nearly all modern buildings, even when making no sort of pretension to Gothic character, we find the mullion, or something equivalent to it, constantly introduced. Whenever extra width and extra light is wanted, the mullion (Lord Palmerston's great agent for the promotion of darkness) is sure to appear. The windows in

the new reading-room of the British Museum are actually of a familiar Romanesque type, and the needful change of detail would at once translate them into Gothic. So it is repeatedly in buildings affecting "classic" character, and in buildings affecting no architectural character at all. The only peculiarity of Gothic is, that it gives these same mullions a more beautiful and appropriate form than any other style. In short, all these objections are simply said for the sake of something to say; they are not arguments, they hardly rise even to the dignity of prejudices. We may dispose of them in the words of a correspondent of the *Times*: "Let Lord Palmerston only mention the exact quantity of light he wishes to have thrown upon foreign affairs, and Mr. Scott will easily give him that exact quantity, neither more nor less."

We have taken some pains and some space in disposing of misconceptions, because the subject is involved in so many and of such different kinds. When these irrelevant objections are got rid of, the case seems to us very clear, and the positive grounds on which we prefer Gothic may be very concisely set forth. We shall then have one more objection to answer, which, as connected with our own argument, and as not being exactly a popular misconception, we have reserved for that place.

The fact that we have consciously and deliberately to choose between two styles of architecture is of itself a very singular phenomenon; it is perhaps without parallel in the history of art. In other times new styles have been introduced, and have had to struggle with existing ones; but such a controversy as the present, as far as we know, never occurred before. Unlike every other age, this age has no architecture of its own; if it had, we should say keep to it, develop it, and improve it, but do not desert it for the style either of past ages or of foreign countries. But we have no one universal style. Italian has for two centuries or more been most in fashion, but it has never thoroughly taken root; it has not produced any really English variety of itself, recognisable at once, like the different varieties of Grecian, Romanesque, and Gothic architecture; and though its prevalence has been very great, it has never been quite universal. Gothic has never quite died out; it would be possible to make a catena of Gothic or would-be Gothic buildings stretching from the last days of good Perpendicular to the late Gothic revival. And again, Italian has had other rivals; pure Grecian has been often attempted; Egyptian, Chinese, and Saracenic vagaries have occasionally diversified the scene. That we really have no style may be seen in this. When there is an universal style in a country, it affects the very humblest buildings. When Gothic was prevalent in this country, every thing was Gothic;

the rudest village churches, the meanest cottages, just as much as minsters and palaces. There is abundance of Gothic work up and down the land, so plain and rude that it must have been planned and wrought by the humblest village masons. But the true Gothic character is there as much as in Westminster Hall and Abbey. If there is nothing else, at any rate the doorways are arched, and the windows, where wide enough to need it, are mullioned. Some of the towns and villages of South Wales are full of Gothic houses of this kind, of the very rudest work, but still real Gothic. In Northamptonshire, again, the cottages, even down far into the last century, retained a type which is essentially Gothic. In Jersey, almost to our own day, the commonest gateways and doors were arched, with a round arch, strange to say, and not a pointed one, but with Gothic mouldings or chamfers. In all these cases there was clearly no interference from professional architects; a real style of architecture, rude but quite genuine, lingered on among village masons. But set a village mason, set even a builder of much higher character, to build nowadays without special instructions, and he produces something in no style at all, neither Italian nor Gothic, nor any thing else, but absolutely without architectural character of any kind. His windows are square holes in the wall; his doorway is made of two wooden doorposts and a wooden lintel. There is no one universal living style, in which every one builds naturally without thinking about it. We pick and choose and argue about it; one man likes one style, another another. In such a case it is not to the point to object to revivals, imitations, and so forth. Doubtless it is a pity that we are driven to revive and to imitate, but we cannot help it. We must either imitate the art of other countries or else revive that of past ages of our own. Modern Italian and modern Gothic are each equally imitative; the only question is, which of the two is the most desirable sort of imitation.

We must weigh the merits of the two contending styles in three balances, which we may call the practical, the artistic, and the historical. Of these we hold that Gothic has the advantage certainly in two, perhaps in three, while Italian has not the advantage in any.

The two practical considerations are convenience and cheapness. In point of convenience, we believe that there is no advantage in one more than the other. We believe that you may make a church, a house, a public hall, a Foreign Office, either in Italian or in Gothic, which shall serve its purpose equally well. For, whatever the style be, the building must be built of the size and shape which its purpose requires; and experience shows that buildings may be made of any conceivable size

or shape in either style. If an architect in either style sacrifices practical convenience to some supposed æsthetical requirement, a case is made out against him as an Italian or Gothic architect, but not against either Italian or Gothic architecture.

In point of cheapness, we believe, though the assertion will doubtless in many cases sound like a paradox, that Gothic has the advantage. We take for granted that we are not looking out for absolutely the cheapest sort of building that can be had. If so, our architects of both schools had better shut up their portfolios, and there is nothing to be done but to run up a big brick factory, at the market price per square yard. We take for granted that the question of cheapness merely means, which can give us a building of some real artistic character for the least money. And this we believe Gothic can do rather than Italian. Let us suppose an Italian and a Gothic design of equal costliness; let us even suppose that the Gothic one, as it stands, would be the dearer of the two. Still there is this all-important difference between them: you may take the Gothic design,—Mr. Scott's for instance, or any other good Gothic design,—and strip off every atom of ornament, and still leave it good and pure, however plain, Gothic. Take the Italian design and try the same experiment upon it, and you leave absolutely nothing, or perhaps our friend the brick factory. Gothic will bear to be at once much richer and much plainer than Italian; and our architects are naturally tempted to send in their designs in their best clothes. But those same designs will do, sometimes they will do better, if, in the phrase of a writer we have already quoted, they are stripped stark naked. In short, we may say of Gothic architecture, like the human beauty:

“Induitur, formosa est; exuitur, ipsa forma est.”

You may get rid of every one of Mr. Scott's statues, niches, medallions, canopies, crockets, jamb-shafts, floriated capitals, and his design would be—we do not say so good as it is now, but still thoroughly good and thoroughly Gothic. Point your arches, chamfer your edges, and, if the outline is good, that is enough. But you cannot go through any such process with the design of Messrs. Coe and Hofland. It is a fine composition; though, to our taste, a good deal of its merit is derived from its *quasi*-Gothic outline. But strip away its engaged columns, its pilasters, its entablatures, its decorative arches, its decorative pediments, its vases, its niches, and its enriched window-cases, and you have no such residuum of good, though plain, architecture left as you would find after the like treatment of Mr. Scott's. To our taste, Mr. Scott's design would not be at all injured by the omission of a good deal of its enrichment; it certainly

would not be utterly ruined, as Messrs. Coe and Hofland's would, by the omission of all. Hence we hold that Gothic architecture is really cheaper than Italian. It will give you a really artistic effect with a less amount of ornament, and therefore with a less expenditure of money.

Our second consideration, the artistic, is intimately connected with the last branch of the practical. We will not go into the metaphysics of beauty : which of two given buildings, or of two given styles, is most beautiful, that is, which is most pleasing to the eye and the mind, must always be in a great degree a matter of taste. Nor will we, with Mr. Ruskin, go about to look for the seven deadly sins and the seven cardinal virtues in structures of stone and mortar. Still there are such things as honesty and dishonesty of construction and ornament. Now, speaking generally, Gothic is thus honest, and Italian is not. Mr. Pugin taught us this truth long ago. Grecian and Gothic stand side by side, bracketed *æquales*, as in a Cambridge tripes. There are only two modes of construction,—the entablature and the arch. Grecian shows the highest perfection reached by the one, Gothic the highest perfection reached by the other. Italian, like its parent the old Roman, is a jumble of the two. Grecian and Gothic both “ornament the construction;” Italian constantly conceals it. That is, in Grecian and Gothic, the pillars, entablatures, arches, which form the real constructive features, are themselves made beautiful features, and are the prominent objects in the decoration. But Italian, using for the most part an arched construction, seeks its ornament in the system of the entablature. A Gothic building enriches its necessary features,—its doorways, its windows, its internal arcades. If it adds ornament for ornament's sake, it seeks it chiefly in decorative imitations of the constructive features, in shafts or mullions supporting blank arches, but on so small a scale that every body sees that they are merely decorative features. But an Italian design has very commonly a range of engaged pillars the full height of the building, with the windows of two or three stories peeping between them. The first feeling is, that the columns originally stood detached, and that somebody has built a wall between them. Messrs. Coe and Hofland avoid this fault; but they avoid it by piling order upon order in a way rather cinquecento than fully developed Italian, and which was in fact borrowed from the Gothic system of decoration. But even their system of decoration is not consistent. Mr. Scott, in his highest story, runs an arcade along his whole front, and pierces members of it for windows wherever light is wanted. In his central and lower ranges the windows stand thicker together, and fill up nearly the whole wall. There is nothing between them save

the statues in the middle stage. In each of his three stages the thing is a real unity. But his Italian rivals have ranges of square and roundheaded windows, with purely decorative pillars between them. Unity there is absolutely none. To have united the roundheaded windows into an arcade, with blank members between them, if needed, would be the natural form of decoration; and a noble form of decoration it is, as many a building, both in Italy and in England, can bear witness. But then it is not orthodox revived Italian; it is something barbarous beyond the barbarism of Gothic itself. It is the style of the savage Lombard and the devastating Norman. It would at once have converted the design from civilised Roman into barbarous Romanesque.

Now it seems to us that when we have to choose between two styles, giving each a clear field and no favour, this last consideration alone ought to decide in favour of Gothic. It is a true, honest, straightforward style, despising sham and pretence. True, you may find Gothic buildings, like the west front of Salisbury Cathedral, which are utter shams. All we can say is, that they desert the principle of their own style, and that they would have been far more beautiful had they followed the law of reality. But in Italian you can hardly avoid a certain amount of sham. At the very least you confuse the two systems of construction; you add a mask constructed on the system of the entablature to a body constructed on the system of the arch.

And now we come to what is to our mind the strongest argument of all on the Gothic side. This is the historical one. Gothic is our own, Italian is foreign. When we are driven to choose, to imitate, to revive, this consideration seems to us alone to settle the question. Were we Italians, we would build in Italian; not, indeed, the Borgian and Medicean Italian of the days of Italy's degradation, but the glorious old Italian of the days of her commonwealths and her kings. If regenerate Italy has new temples and palaces to rear, let them be the true artistic offspring of the old style of Milan and Pisa and Pavia; the style in which Frederick refounded Lodi, and in which the Lombard League founded Alessandria. For the same reason we, as Teutons, prefer to cleave to Teutonic architecture; as Englishmen, we select by special preference its English variety. Where our own national models fail us, we are willing to draw on the resources of kindred lands; but let us not, while our own and kindred lands are so rich in glorious works, go and sit at the feet of utter strangers. What the Romanesque of Pisa should be to an Italian, or the Byzantine of St. Sophia to a Greek, such is the style of Cologne, of St. Ouen's, and of Westminster

to a German, a Frenchman, or an Englishman. Gothic architecture is the architecture of the Teutonic race; and, in the wide sense in which the word 'Gothic' is often used, we accept it as its truest and most honourable title. We will not dispute about its origin, how it arose, or where it was first invented. It appeared so simultaneously in England, France, and Germany, that it is hard to give either country the precedence. And if it can be proved that the first germ belonged to some one of the three, still the other two adopted it so early and so thoroughly, each wrought out such distinct and vigorous varieties of the common form, that Gothic architecture may be called thoroughly national in all three alike. To an Englishman, indeed, the style is connected with the very noblest associations of his history. The architecture of England arose alongside of her laws, her constitution, her language. They are all the work of that wonderful thirteenth century, which made England what she still is. We have lately seen the strange assertion, that that age was "one of the most barren in the history of the human mind." The history of England, alike artistic and political, has certainly taught *us* another lesson. Our old national buildings, our mediæval minsters and palaces, tell us of those early patriots who wrung our liberties from the grasp of king and pope alike. The first age of Gothic architecture is the age which won the Great Charter from the tyrant; which gave us, not indeed, it may be, in their full perfection, but which still gave us, fresh, vigorous, and prolific, the essence of all the laws and liberties that we still prize. Our English Gothic tells us of Langton and Fitzwalter, of Grosseteste and De Montfort, of the triumph of Lewes, and of the martyrdom of Evesham. It tells us of England once more England under her first and greatest Edward; and it tells us how the strong heart of Bigod braved even Edward himself, when the hero and the lawgiver turned aside into the path of tyranny. And not one of these associations is of a merely antiquarian interest; no gap separates us from our fathers; what they won we still enjoy. All our later legislation takes its root in those few words of the Great Charter, which to us at least, as Chatham said, are worth all that Greece and Rome has left us. Pass what Reform Bills we will, we shall but be modifying in detail those venerable writs by which Simon of Leicester first called together the representatives of the cities and boroughs of England. Has any later age struggled either against royal despotism from within or spiritual despotism from without? In so doing it has but trod in the steps of the men of the thirteenth century. Bulls and excommunications were hurled in vain against the army of God and of the holy Church; and De Montfort himself, the canonised saint of the English people,

died under the ban of Rome. We still speak the tongue, we are still governed by the laws, we still glory in the constitution, which received their lasting shape in the age in which Gothic architecture arose among us. If any style of art was ever national in any age or country, surely that style is national in England which arose in the age which made England what it is.

To this line of argument it has been objected,* that Gothic architecture is not national but "feudal;" that its being common to England, France, and Germany, shows that it is not national in any one of those countries, but that it is owing only to the common element in the three, which is said to be "feudalism," "hierarchies of priests, hierarchies of nobles, hierarchies of burghers." Finally, there is said to be such a "solution of continuity" between us and the middle ages, as makes their art quite inapplicable to us. Now, it is hard to see what is meant by an architecture being "feudal," any more than what is meant by its being popish. The writer can hardly mean that there is any special connection between pointed arches and knight-service, or between the tooth-moulding and grand-sergeantry. In what we have been just saying, we do not mean that there is any mysterious connection between Simon de Montfort's parliament and the architecture of Salisbury cathedral. We only say, that when we have to choose an architecture, the architecture of Plantagenet England is one which calls up more agreeable associations than the architecture of Borgian Italy. The objection can only mean that Gothic architecture was prevalent in days when feudalism was prevalent also, which is hardly correct historically, as in the thirteenth century feudalism was beginning to decay. The true feudal architecture would be Romanesque.† It is surely much easier to say that the common

* See a letter signed "A." in the *Times*, Nov. 1, 1859.

† The difference between Romanesque and Gothic, the fullest developments respectively of the round and of the pointed arch, is, we believe, seldom fully realised by persons who have not technically studied the subject. It is, however, of the highest importance, and has been fully worked out by the writers who have followed in the wake of Mr. Hope. We are sorry to see that this nomenclature, which had become generally received, has been needlessly confused by Mr. Fergusson in his *Handbook of Architecture*, who transfers the name Romanesque to the early basilicas, and jumbles Romanesque and Gothic together under one head. As Mr. Fergusson's book has been so much talked of lately, it may be as well to give a very brief summary of its merits and defects, both of which are very great and conspicuous. He has earned the lasting gratitude of students of art by bringing to our notice various forms of eastern architecture of which he is thoroughly master, and of which hardly any thing was known before. He has gathered together a mass of views, measurements, and ground-plans, to be found in no other single work. He gives much judicious criticism on particular styles and buildings. On the other hand, he ignores all preceding writers; his arrangement is confused and misleading, and an affectation of historical and ethnological precision has led him into a series of the most ludicrous blunders, not one of

element in the three countries is the common Teutonic blood, which, it should be remembered, was in those days still politically predominant at least in Northern France. In conformity with this view, we find that in France Roman elements linger about the style far later than in England; that in Southern France those elements are more conspicuous, and linger still longer; that in Spain the whole style is little more than an exotic; and that in Italy it is, in its purity, unknown. A political Durandus might go farther, and might say that the English clustered pillar with many shafts under one capital typifies the union of many powers in the state under a constitutional monarch; while the single pillar, so often retained in France, typifies the French tendency to the *unité du pouvoir*. We of course believe in no such trifling; but it is quite as much to the purpose as it is to attribute the peculiarities of Gothic architecture to the feudal jurisprudence. The writer we have noticed enlarges on the diversity between the three great Gothic countries; yet, after all, their resemblance, as compared with the rest of the world, is more striking than their diversity. Surely, whatever are their differences among themselves, they form a marked whole, as distinguished from the rest of the world. What is modern European civilisation? Surely it is a joint production of those three countries, to which each has contributed its portion, and which they all enjoy in common. The three great countries of central Europe set the standard; the north, the south, the east at most follow it. But after all, this whole line of argument is but little to the purpose. To say that architecture is "feudal" or "popish," really means nothing; but to say that a particular style is peculiar to the Teutonic race, that a special variety of that style is peculiar to our own branch of that race, is to assert undeniable historical facts. To us these facts seem quite reason enough to lead us, when placed in the strange position of having to choose our architecture, to prefer the Teutonic style, and, *cæteris paribus*, to prefer its English variety. As for "solution of continuity" (a phrase which sounds more like a chemical than an historical technicality), we do not know very well what it means. If it means a wide impassable gap between two periods, we deny it altogether in the case of our own country. There may be a "solution of continuity" between the France of the old *régime* and the France of the republic or the empire; but there is none

which, strange to say, is corrected in the new edition, though they have been pointed out in various critical notices. Mr. Fergusson has sense enough to see the close connection between architecture and history; but he has not knowledge enough either of western architecture or western history to work it out with any accuracy. A man may be a first-rate architect and a first-rate architectural critic, who has never turned a page either of Thucydides or of Eginhard; but if so, he had better not write about the age of Pericles or of Charlemagne.

between the England of Edward I. and the England of Queen Victoria. If any body thinks there is, we can only advise him to read attentively through Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Lord Macaulay's *History*.

We have said that our style should not only be Gothic, but by preference English Gothic. We say merely by preference, because it is only common sense to draw upon the other kindred nations if our own stores fail us in any particular case. In our churches and our private houses we have but little occasion to do so, though we should make no kind of objection to borrowing some of those features of French or German churches and houses in which they certainly surpass our own. In public secular buildings we are less rich, and may often be driven to seek for hints from other lands. Mr. Scott surely did wisely to draw the general conception of his design for the Foreign Office from the magnificent town-halls of the Netherlands. So did the architects of the new museum at Oxford no less wisely as regards the general conception of the grand front, whatever we say either as to the details or as to the rest of the building. If England, Belgium, Germany, and Northern France all fail us, we should not refuse to draw hints from the works of those who in the Gothic era were our fellow-subjects of Aquitaine. But this is as far as we can go. We must refuse to pass the Alps. Since Mr. Ruskin first began to abuse English and French Gothic, and to set up Italian in their stead, we have had a sort of counter-revolution against the true Gothic movement. Northern Gothic has been discovered to be "savage;" English Perpendicular to be "detestable;" St. Ouen's tower to be "base;" buttresses are to be eschewed as "crutches;" towers are not to be crowned with pinnacles, because there ought to be "a monarch and his lowly train," and for some inconceivable reason about the heads, legs, and horns of the Ruminantia.* These propositions have been demonstrated by putting forth a comparative view of an English and an Italian tower, in which the English tower, brought in to be beaten by its competitor, is not Canterbury, or Gloucester, or Wolverhampton, not Wrington, or Evercreech, or Wells, or Glastonbury, or North Petherton, not the tower of Magdalen or Merton,—neither of them surely unknown to him who is emphatically the "Oxford graduate,"—but the modern gateway turret of a Free-Church college at Edinburgh! Since then "Italian Gothic" has been the rage. To our eye it is not Gothic at all. To us it seems that the Italians judged very ill when they deserted their own glorious Romanesque for an attempt to imitate forms which they could not transplant in their purity. The

* Seven Lamps of Architecture, p. 115.

Italian Gothic, to our taste, is not Gothic at all ; it is the native Romanesque spoiled by the intrusion of one or two Gothic forms. You get the pointed arch, just as you do in Saracenic architecture, but both in Italian and Saracenic you get it without that appropriate system of ornament which the northern architects worked out for it. But even supposing that the Italian Gothic be good in Italy, there can be no need for us, with such stores of beauty north of the Alps, to transplant it into any Teutonic country. If we want models for brickwork, we need not go into Lombardy for them ; eastern England, northern Germany, and southern France, will supply us with brick churches and brick houses of the noblest kind. The churches of Toulouse and the manor-houses of Norfolk are built of brick, and yet are as pure Gothic as Cologne Cathedral and Thornbury Castle. Still, with all these facts before our eyes, Italian Gothic has become a rage, and, strange to say, the ecclesiological school, once so ultra stiff in its nationality, has taken a leading part in its propagation. On the other hand, warning voices have not been wanting ; Mr. Parker* especially, whom few men can surpass in knowledge of continental buildings, has come forward vigorously to recall us to the architecture of our own island. Of the Gothic buildings of the last two or three years, a very large number exhibit features which, so far from being English Gothic, are not Gothic at all. Such a building as that which has supplanted the late venerable and picturesque chapel of Balliol College† has lost nearly all true Gothic character. Perhaps it might be paying it too high a compliment to call it Italian ; the odd sort of entablature which runs across its east end looks like an attempt of the architect to devise a new Grecian order. Nearly all the inferior architects have been bitten with this madness ; even Mr. Scott himself has not always been quite unhurt. His combined genius and good sense, indeed, always preserve him from any prominent departure from the principles of the northern Gothic. His last great work, the noble chapel of Exeter College, a glorious contrast to that of Balliol, exhibits Teutonic architecture in a pure and perfect form.‡ One or two only of the very minutest details just remind us that Mr. Scott has read Mr. Ruskin. So too, in his design for the Foreign Office, the general outline and composition are purely and nobly Teu-

* See especially two articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1859, by Mr. Parker, and his son Mr. James Parker.

† The oddities of this building drew forth the felicitous name of "the *streaky-bacon style*" from an undergraduate of a neighbouring college.

‡ Perfect and splendid as far as Mr. Scott is concerned. But his great work is sadly marred by the supposed necessities of the College refusing all opportunity for a west front, and condemning the magnificent apse to be almost concealed by the rector's house.

tonic ; but here and there we find details which savour of the other side of the Alps. They are of very little importance indeed ; they in no way affect the great questions at issue between Mr. Scott and his enemies ; but they are just enough to show that even he has been, not carried away, but just shaken, by the force of the prevailing torrent. In his case, all that is wanted to satisfy the most strictly insular criticism, would be to change here and there a capital or a moulding, in which non-technical eyes would hardly perceive the difference. But we cannot say that so easy a process would Anglicise or Teutonise all the works which have been built under the influence of Mr. Ruskin's theories.

We have now pretty well had our say both as to the comparative merits of Gothic and Italian, and as to the merits of Mr. Scott's design as a specimen of the Gothic style. Into the history of the competition we have not room to enter at length ; and really, if we could give a whole Number to it, we should get utterly bewildered among the successive First Commissioners of Works, the judges, the professional judges, the assessors, the report of the committee, the three several competitions, and their three several and very varying class-lists. From our own point of view it might be enough to say that we hold Gothic to be the best style, and that by common consent, certainly by common consent of all officially concerned, Mr. Scott's is the best design in that style ; and that it is not only the best design among those sent in, but a thoroughly good design in itself. Still Mr. Scott and his supporters have been made the objects of such violent and such unscrupulous attacks, that we cannot help saying a few words on one or two of the points which have most struck us in the personal controversy.

A fierce outcry has been raised against the late Government for selecting a design which did not win the first prize. To this there are several answers. The Government was in no way bound to take any of the designs sent in in the competition. This is clearly explained in the Report of the House of Commons' Committee. If it be asked, Why, then, have a competition at all ? the answer is plain, that, among the designs sent in, it was probable that some one would be worthy of being executed as it stood, or nearly so ; it was certain that the result of the competition, even if no one design was chosen, would be to throw great light on the requirements of the building, and on the capacity of the architects competing. A competition which did not produce a design which could be erected as it stood, might nevertheless reveal who was the best architect, and, in the worst case, it could not fail to draw out many hints for the proposed building. It was then open to the

Government to choose which design it pleased ; though we allow that, when the competitors were so eminent, and the prize designs so good, there would have been practical unfairness in passing them all by. Lord Palmerston, however, must think otherwise ; he wanted to give the work to an architect who did not compete at all. But in choosing Mr. Scott's design, the late Government not only exercised a discretion fairly open to them ; they really carried out the recommendation of the judges, the committee, and the committee's witnesses. Mr. Scott was placed by the professional judges second for the Foreign Office and second for the War Office ; the first place in each competition being won by two different designs. This is really coming in first in the competition as a whole. Any Oxford or Cambridge examiner will tell you that a man who is second in two papers stands higher than a man who is first in one paper and nowhere in another. And the competition really must be looked on as one whole. It would never do to have the War Office and the Foreign Office in two different styles ; it would hardly do to have them built by two different architects. Again, there was a wide difference of opinion as to the merit of some of the designs ; for instance, that of Messrs. Coe and Hofland was placed first by one set of judges, and only sixth by another. But every body agreed in placing Mr. Scott very near the top ; those who placed Messrs. Coe and Hofland first, placed Mr. Scott third ; those who placed Messrs. Coe and Hofland sixth placed Mr. Scott second. Again, Mr. Scott is, by common consent, acknowledged to be, what nobody else is, first in his own class. Every set of judges, in every competition, places Mr. Scott's above all other Gothic designs ; there is no such agreement as to the first place among the Italian designs. All this evidence of different kinds quite bears us out in the opinion which we have ourselves formed independently, that the greatest amount of aggregate merit belongs to Mr. Scott.

The competition was to be perfectly open in point of style. Therefore it is utterly unfair in Lord Palmerston to rail at Mr. Scott's design simply because it is Gothic. Theoretically it might have been better to have fixed the style beforehand, as was done in the case of the Houses of Parliament. Practically we think the course taken was the best, as giving Gothic a much fairer chance. And in another way also it was fairer. We prefer Gothic to Italian, but we do not prefer all Gothic to all Italian. We do not prefer such Gothic as the modern parts of Pembroke, University, and Balliol Colleges to such Italian as the noble hall and chapel of Queen's. We doubt whether we could ever bring ourselves to recommend the erection of an

Italian building, but it is quite possible that we might, in an open competition, have given the first prize to an Italian design. The committee was most fairly appointed; it very properly included Mr. Beresford Hope; it no less properly included Mr. Tite. The committee worked very zealously and very fairly; the examination of the witnesses was most creditable alike to the examiners and the examined. Even the honourable and artistic member for Bath had the opportunity of learning many things which he seems to have since taken the opportunity of forgetting. Hostile witnesses fairly confessed that Gothic was neither dearer nor more inconvenient than Italian; the committee most truly and fairly reported that, practically looked at, the two styles stood on an equality. It was not their business to recommend a particular architect; but in their tenth clause they make a plain statement of facts, from which no one can help drawing the inference that Mr. Scott really stood first. And yet, after all this, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Tite are not ashamed to take up again all the exploded objections which have been answered over and over again, and not least effectually in answers made in Mr. Tite's hearing, and recorded in a blue-book, which Lord Palmerston ought to have read. And now Lord Palmerston coolly expects Mr. Scott to withdraw the Gothic design which won him the appointment, and to make an Italian one instead. Lord Palmerston might as well be asked, perhaps better, to give up the policy which won him *his* appointment, and to take up another which his political convictions conscientiously reject. He might as well be asked, as the price of office, to be no longer "the minister of England," but "the minister of France, Russia, or Austria." That Lord Palmerston knows or cares any thing about architecture, his own speeches sufficiently disprove; but it is convenient to attack his predecessor in office, and the matter, if dextrously treated, may win him an extra cheer in Exeter Hall. As for Mr. Tite, the best excuse for him is, that perhaps he may be of a Lacedæmonian turn, that the evidence was very long, that he may have forgotten the former part, and not have understood the latter.* If he rejects this judgment of charity, we can only hint another explanation. The conduct of other architects makes us think that two of a trade may agree. Mr. Tite's constant tirades, in Parliament and out of Parliament, cannot but make us think of the words,

"Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas."

Had Mr. Tite been less violent in his attacks on Mr. Scott, it

* Οἱ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιληθέναι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα οὐ συνιέναι. Herod. iii. 46.

would not have occurred to us to inquire into his own qualifications. As it is, we cannot help seeing that there is some difference between the architect of Hamburg and Doncaster and Exeter College, the restorer of Stafford and Ely and Hereford, and the architect of the Royal Exchange. There is something ungenerous in this violent antagonism towards one who, even though a rival artist, is at least a rival worthy of all honour. We should say this even if Mr. Tite's own architectural achievements were of the highest order, and would of themselves entitle him to great deference. As it is, however, we are bound to add that he has earned no such right to arbitrate in any disputed point of history or art.

Happily the matter is adjourned till the next session of Parliament. Meanwhile the existing Foreign Office seems to be falling about the heads of its occupants. Rebuilt it must be; but let it be rebuilt in a style, and when rebuilt used for a purpose, which may show that those who prefer Teutonic art in a Teutonic land can also be the first to resist any policy which shall submit the land of the rival style to Teutonic bondage.

ART. III.—WHATELY'S EDITION OF PALEY'S ETHICS.

Paley's Moral Philosophy. With Annotations by Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859.

IT is not creditable to England that Paley's *Moral Philosophy* should have held the place in our literature and in our schools that it has held: it says but little for our speculative tastes, that the most approved of treatises on morals should treat the great question about our moral nature and the constitution of our species as "a question of pure curiosity." It says as little for the elevation of our practical ethics, that we should be content with a work so merely and selfishly utilitarian in its conclusions, and so wanting in all generosity of sentiment, as the book before us. But, however little it may say for us, it is not to be denied that Paley is the great expositor of moral philosophy to the English nation,—that his work "has," as Archbishop Whately remarks, "laid the foundation of the moral principles of many hundreds, probably thousands, of youths, while under a course of training designed to qualify them for being afterwards the moral instructors of millions" (Preface, p. 1).

There is something vastly English in Paley's way of treating the subject. A German is always burrowing and mining, a Frenchman is always flying; but an Englishman walks on the flat solid earth, anxious only to keep in a clear straight path there, and not to fall into any of the German miner's pits. And the doctor's book throughout sticks to this dead level of practical life. "I have examined no points," he says, "I have discussed no obscurities, I have encountered no errors, I have adverted to no controversies but what I have seen actually to exist;" and all his disquisitions on political philosophy are, as he tells us elsewhere in his preface, "framed with a reference to the condition of this country and of this government." In laying the foundations of his moral philosophy, he omits any judgment on the one question of speculative interest,—we mean, as to the existence of a moral sense,—and remits it with somewhat of contempt "to those who are more inquisitive than we are concerned to be about the natural history and constitution of the human species" (p. 22). Englishmen do not like moral philosophy at all; but if they must read it, they feel it a great relief to find a writer who is so thoroughly practical and free from the sin of speculation as Paley.

The very selfishness of the principles which Paley advocates has also, we believe, recommended his treatise to Englishmen. It is not that Englishmen are less generous than other men, but they are perhaps less consciously so. The generous emotions of a Frenchman or a German go off at intervals with a bang, which he cannot help hearing, and of which he generally makes a note in his journal, or a story in his memoirs; but in an Englishman generosity is more an every-day affair, is more interwoven with his whole life, and therefore with his self-love and self-interest. Whether this be the cause or not, it is certain that in England a sort of dislike exists to the mention of any other feelings than self-interest; and a man who talks much of any generous sentiments is apt to be taken either for a knave or a fool. Paley's philosophy and the Manchester creed in politics are both genuine utterances of this side of our national character.

Besides all these questionable recommendations to his reader, Paley has one real merit—that he is always intelligible and clear: you feel perpetually that he is shallow, sometimes that he is self-contradictory, but you never doubt what is the meaning of the passage you are reading. It is this quality in his writings that has made them so popular with several generations of English readers, and has fitted him to be the expositor, the *προφήτης* as the Greeks would say, of several profounder minds on several subjects. For he is, even less perhaps than he tells us or is generally supposed, by no means

an original writer. His *Evidences of Christianity* are dug out of the great repertory of Lardner's learning; his *Natural Theology* was taken largely, but with very insufficient acknowledgment, from Dr. Derham's *Physico-Theology*; and his *Moral Philosophy* is, as he himself tells us, borrowed very extensively from other writers, and especially from Tucker.

The very shallowness of Paley's philosophy has no doubt helped to make his work acceptable: for all superficial systems, whether the utilitarian in morals or the sensuous in mental philosophy, have a great apparent advantage over schemes of thought which recognise the unfathomable depths of the human heart and soul. The former are clear, luminous, and systematic, admitting no mysteries, confessing no ignorance, asking for no faith: the latter are confessedly oftentimes obscure, dealing with considerations and thoughts that transcend the logic and the speech of man; they admit mysteries, they confess ignorance, they demand faith. The first treat the nature of man as if it were a straight and level highway, where all may travel with ease and pleasure, with nothing to astonish, nothing to explore; the others conceive of it as an almost boundless land, wherein are

“Antres vast and deserts idle,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven.”

But then these latter theories more than compensate for all the weariness, the uncertainty, and the toil which they bring on the traveller by their truth, and therefore their adaptation to the cravings of man's intellectual life: men never can live and grow to their perfect stature on the dry husks of a utilitarian morality on which the swine of the world are feeding; their very hearts and words, be their theories what they may, confess to the inadequacy of this shallower creed.

It is not very easy to understand the extent of agreement between the author and the editor of the book now before us. The Archbishop thinks it worth while to bestow his time and thought on this edition of the doctor's celebrated work; he thinks it ought to be retained as one of the text-books in our universities; he thinks the errors of Paley are chiefly those of omission (p. 27): but yet he differs from him on the great, one might almost say the only, question in morality,—we mean, the existence and authority of the moral sense. This may, indeed, be called an error of omission, as building a house without foundations might also be called an error of omission; but it is one which destroys the value of the whole structure, and not only so, but leads to positive error in the substitution of another principle and motive for morality: so that it is an error of omission necessitating an error of commission.

“I am far from thinking that Paley's work ought not to be *one*

of the text-books employed," says the Archbishop, in speaking of our universities, "but the study of it should be accompanied with cautions to the young student against adopting the whole of his system" (Preface, p. 6). It is difficult to understand what part of his system should be adopted by a person who, like Dr. Whately, professes to differ from him as to the well-spring and origin of morality, because the false definition of moral obligation which Paley gives is applied by him to the details of morality, and leads, in our opinion, to false particulars; indeed, it cannot be but that a fundamental error as to the nature of moral obligation should taint every page of a treatise on moral philosophy. The Archbishop's position is like that of a man who, denying the axioms of Euclid, should still teach the great geometrician's Elements, but accompanied with cautions against adopting the whole of his system. For our part, we should rejoice to see Paley's work excluded from the curriculum of all our universities, though it be true that no other systematic treatise is in existence which could entirely take its place. Till this deficiency be supplied, we had far rather that our students should be trained on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and Butler's *Sermons on Human Nature*, than that they should be instructed in such a morality as that of Paley.

Dr. Whately's annotations are of course sensible and clear, and, we think, more free from merely verbal distinctions than most of his productions; for the Archbishop belongs to that school of writers—beginning, if we mistake not, with the late Bishop Coppleston—who attach an undue importance to the ambiguity that lurks in some conspicuous word, and fancy that the strifes that have divided mankind, and will divide it as long as man is what he is, spring from double middles, and are to be settled by exposing that fallacy. True it is that these great dividing questions often result in the double significance of a term, but they do not spring from it: their root is not in words, but in the hearts and thoughts of men.

The editor's share in this volume is, like too many of his books, deformed by needless and wearisome repetitions, by italics and by vanity—(perhaps there is a closer connection between these things than may at the first sight appear). It might be thought enough for an author that he more often quotes himself, and refers to his own works, than to those of any other writer, and probably of all other writers put together; but the way in which Dr. Whately thinks fit to do so has an originality about it. It is not enough to cite himself simply; he cites himself (p. 63) as extracted, with his permission, by another learned and reverend author. Nor are his references to his own writings less striking. One meets with such passages as these: "As is ob-

served in the *Lessons on Morals*" (p. 27); "see *Lessons on Reasoning*" (p. 23); "the second series of *Essays*" (p. 165). An ignorant, very ignorant, reader may at first sight be inclined to ask, what are THE *Lessons on Morals*? THE *Lessons on Reasoning*? But he has only to turn to the advertisements at the end of the book, and he finds that they are productions of the fertile pen of the Archbishop himself, and may each be had for the moderate price of 1s. 6d. When (at p. 31) we found a footnote referring to "the Politics," we were sadly puzzled; and it was only after searching in vain for such a book amongst Dr. Whately's works, and a direct reference in the text to Aristotle, that we felt assured that "the Politics" meant what it used to mean.

If these annotations were intended for the use of students, it is greatly to be regretted that their author has not been at the pains to give definite references to the passages of other writers to whom allusion is made; because nothing more necessarily deters from research, not the idle student only, but the one who carefully husbands his time. Such references as those at p. 61 to Aristotle, "in his *Ethics*," and "Cicero, in his *De Officiis*," are as good as useless; nor are such as the one at p. 27, "*Eth. Nicom.* b. v.," much more useful to any student who has not already so mastered the treatise as to require no reference at all to guide him to the familiar passage. Such is the style of quotation throughout Dr. Whately's notes, except, indeed, where he cites himself, where the manner is usually, though not uniformly, far more praiseworthy; as, for instance, at p. 26, "See *Lessons on Morals*, less. xviii. § 4, note." The point may seem a trifling one, but the definiteness of reference often makes the difference between a book useful or useless to the student; and the habit of recurring to the original passages can never be too greatly encouraged in any study whatever.

But to leave the annotator, for the consideration of the work which he has annotated.

Paley has devoted a long chapter to the discussion of the existence of a moral sense, in which he has stated what he conceives to be the arguments on the two sides of the question, but without expressing any decision either the one way or the other, because the desired result can, in his opinion, be arrived at by a surer road than the moral sense presents, assuming it to exist; so that the question becomes, in Paley's system, "a question of pure curiosity" (p. 22). When we arrive at the second book, we find what this surer road is; for there the author expounds his celebrated theory of moral obligation, or obligation only, as we should rather say, as the word 'moral' has no place in the definition given, or the motives suggested. "A man is said to be

obliged," says our author (p. 57), "when he is urged by a violent motive resulting from the command of another." "Then let it be asked," he proceeds, in the following chapter (p. 59), "why am I *obliged* to keep my word? and the answer will be, because I am urged to do so by a violent motive (namely, the expectation of being after this life rewarded if I do, or punished for it if I do not), resulting from the command of another (namely, of God)." The next inquiry, therefore, is as to the commands of God, which are to be come at in two ways: first, by His express declarations in Scripture; and secondly, "by what we can discover of His designs and disposition from His works" (p. 70). Of these the first requires no discussion: the second is discussed by our author in his chapter on the Divine Benevolence; and his determination on the matter, and application of it to the rule of conduct, are thus stated: "We conclude, therefore, that God wills and wishes the happiness of His creatures; and this conclusion being once established, we are at liberty to go on with the rule built upon it, namely, that the method of arriving at the will of God concerning any action by the light of nature, is to inquire into the tendency of that action to promote or diminish the general happiness" (p. 76). This is the whole scheme of moral obligation propounded by Paley in his second book.

In this scheme every thing, it will be observed, is made to hang on the selfish motive of the hope of reward or the fear of pain. Every thing, except where there is an express declaration in Scripture, depends on a calculation of the tendency of an action to promote or diminish the general happiness,—not because this general happiness in any wise commends itself to our hearts and minds, or is a thing which in itself we desire, but solely because to pursue it will be pleasing to Him who dispenses rewards and punishments, and so may get us gain hereafter. The simple utilitarian code of morals is generous and noble in comparison of this theory. "From this account of obligation it follows," as Paley observes, "that we can be obliged to nothing but what we ourselves are to gain or lose something by" (p. 58). On this scheme, too, moral approbation and disapprobation of an action go for nothing, are of no moment or account whatsoever.

It is a strange thing that men should go on debating and discussing whether there be a moral sense or not; or whether the Scriptures and utility be our only rules. Did not morality exist long before the New Testament was written? Had not the idea of the great end and destiny of man, as a moral being, seized hold of Socrates, and so wrought in him that he could not choose but preach this great truth, day by day, in the agora of Athens, and in the workshops of Piræus,—arguing ever that as each trade and craft had its definite end and object, so man

too had an end and object to his being, a call to glory and virtue? Had not Plato gone yet further in the same inquiry? Did he not sift to the very bottom the great moral problems of life? And then, again, comes Aristotle, and leaves us, in his Ethics, that imperishable memorial of his genius; a noble system of morals, based purely on a contemplation of the nature and constitution of man, without regard to future rewards or punishments, without thought even of a future life, which Aristotle, in this very treatise, denies to have any existence. How is it possible, in the face of such evidence, to deny, to question, the existence of a moral sense? Whence did these works come, if not from its utterances? Whence did all the Greek words for moral subjects get their origin and being, if man have in himself no moral sense, if he do not hold within him the *αὐτοδιδάκτος ἔσωθεν θυμός*, the self-taught heart, of which Æschylus tells us?

The dispute is, whether a thing can be, after the clearest evidence that it is. If the cellars of Sceptis had done their mischief far more effectually than they did to the Mss. of Aristotle; and if Plato and Xenophon had been subjected to a like fatality, —we should have been deprived, indeed, of the most splendid moral discussions of antiquity, but the evidence of the existence of a high moral nature in man, of noble moral conclusions actually and definitely arrived at, not only without the aid of any outward Revelation, but before Christianity, would not have been less conclusive than now it is. For the whole history of ancient philosophy is an incontestable evidence to the existence of a natural morality. Whence came the conflicts of Stoics against Epicureans, of soul against sense; the endless questionings and debates, —if not from the moral nature of man, protesting, and struggling, and fighting against the selfish nature of the individual, and the selfish customs of the race?

Moral philosophy, moral notions, moral words, every thing which had to do with morality amongst the ancients, have about them every mark of being natural growths and developments of human nature: so that there is no pretence for referring them to some remote tradition of a revelation handed down through long ages. And what is still more remarkable is, that all these moral conceptions are growths which have forced their way up into light against the pressure of selfishness. Lust, greed, passion, in a word, self, always have opposed, and must oppose, the growth of morality; and the more strongly the antagonists of the moral sense insist on the extent and power of these selfish feelings, the more remarkable are the facts, and the more inexplicable on their theory: for it is beyond doubt that morality grew up into a noble tree, of stately

trunk and abundant shade, in spite of all this opposition. If selfishness were, in fact, the only motive on which men acted, how came they to think of other motives, to invent names for them, to reduce them to rank, and order, and form? Whence did morality, as a science, gain its origin or its existence? Nay, whence came its stately growth, but from the native properties of the soil in which it grew? Whence came there amidst the intense selfishness of the heathen world, the no less intense sense of a moral principle in man that was opposed to it?

“ Who forged that other influence,
That heat of inward evidence,
By which he doubts against the sense ?”

It had been no wonder if the selfishness of man had permanently extinguished and silenced the voice of our moral feelings. But this was not the only foe it had to deal with; for the system of the world has seemed to men as much at variance with their moral sentiments as the selfish part of their own being. For what is it but a confused medley, where the good and the evil have about equal chances of success and happiness: except, indeed, that the wicked seem to be more free from restraint, and so the better off in the scramble; and virtue has seemed to tie the hands and to lame the leg in the pursuit of what all men desire? If the order of the world had given any assurance of reward to a certain line of self-denying conduct, it would have given some support to a scheme of conduct different from that of rude self-interest; and men who played for the present or the deferred enjoyments and rewards might have been distinguished by the respective names of selfish and virtuous. But the world gives no such assurance or certain prospect of rewards; and mankind have been bewailing, from Job downwards, that the moral order of the world bestows no blessing on virtue, and no punishment on vice. The good are in distress; the wicked are in prosperity. “They are not in trouble as other men, neither are they plagued like other men,” is the complaint of Asaph; and the heathen world responded to the plaint:

“ Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet; at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse deos?”

“Why,” says Cotta, in Cicero’s treatise on the Nature of the Gods, arguing against a moral government of the world,—“why did the Carthaginian overbear in Spain the two Scipios, the bravest and the best of men? Why did Maximus bury his already consular son? Why did Hannibal slay Marcellus? Why did the field of Cannæ snatch away Paullus? Why was the body of Regulus given up to the cruelty of the Pœni? Why did not his own roof cover our Africanus? . . . The day would fail

me were I to tell of the evils that have befallen the righteous; nor less so were I to recount the successes of the wicked. For why did Marius die so happily in his home in a ripe old age, and consul for a seventh time? Or why did Cinna, the cruellest of all men, rule so long?" (lib. iii. c. 32.)

So that, upon the simple selfish theory of human nature, the existence of such a thing as morality,—of such a treatise, for instance, as Aristotle's *Ethics*,—is the most absurd, unaccountable, causeless thing. It is a plant that not only has been choked from its very birth by the thorns of self-interest, and the cold blasts of the world's neglect (for this is too true); but on this theory it had no soil in which to grow, no root from which to be nourished, and no air to breathe. It is a sheer impossibility: but yet there it is, a tall strong plant, the most perverse obstinate thing in the world.

The question between the two schools of moral philosophy is nothing but an issue of fact—Is there a moral faculty distinct from our selfish feelings and desires? Is there "any thing peculiar and specific in our feeling of moral approbation"? (p. 30). Is there an inherent difference between the good and the useful? Or is all moral approbation but the same sense of pleasure that we derive from successful selfishness? are virtue and bread-and-cheese, after all, one and the same thing? The question may be submitted to trial in a variety of ways—by an appeal to our consciousness, or to our actions, or to our words. Paley suggests that it should be tried by telling the horrible story about Caius Toranius to the wild boy found in Hanover, or to some similar savage, and seeing what sentiment the wild boy would experience on the relation of this story: which is much as if the doctor should propose experimenting on the bodies of birds caught by putting salt on their tails.

But what says the appeal to consciousness? Let a man ask himself, not whether all his good actions may hereafter redound to his own happiness, not whether they may be justified by an enlightened selfishness, but whether self has been the motive, and the only motive, in all that he has done, or thought, or hoped of the noble and the good? If not, what has been that other motive, except a moral feeling? The generous and the selfish motives in the heart of man are, no doubt, strangely intermingled and confused; and the keenest self-analysis will not always reveal their actual proportion; our mental geometry will not always resolve the resultant along which we move into the co-efficient forces of generosity and selfishness. But did ever a man who thought about himself independently of theory, deny that he had unselfish as well as selfish emotions? Does not every one feel that the more self preponderates, the less moral

he is, the less deserving of approbation; that the more the love of others, and of the true and good, the more praiseworthy his conduct is? Specious as it sometimes may seem, the selfish theory will not explain the real beatings of the heart, though it may afterwards justify, if need be, the doings of the man: selfish as men are, they are not always selfish, not always utilitarian; there are passions, there are emotions, that wait not on calculations of interest, that are unbribed by the prospect of present pleasure, are not bought by the mere hope of heaven, or scared alone by the fear of hell.

We repeat, that the mere fact that an action may be explained by utility, is not enough to show that a generous motive had no part in its production. Thus, for instance, in affectionate and tender actions, it may be and is true that they react on the doer with pleasure, by exciting affection in the heart and conduct of the recipient; but we must not hence conclude that there is no emotion of love but self-love. It is not enough for the selfish theory to show that some regard for self entered into the action, it must be shown that no regard for another was any ultimate ingredient in it. The degree in which these moral sentiments may prevail in our conduct, what may be their power in opposition to the selfishness of our natures, is not now the question; but only this, whether they do or do not exist. Be the unselfish and moral sentiment "ever so short, be it ever so low a degree, or ever so unhappily confined, it proves," to borrow Bishop Butler's language, "the assertion, and points out what we were designed for as really as though it were in a higher degree and more extensive."

Our own motives we can know; the actions of others we can less perfectly know and less surely interpret. But the appearances, past and present, of the world are certainly opposed to man's being a merely selfish being, with no moral sentiments. True that, as to the present, it is difficult to say how far the hope of reward or the fear of punishment in another world may be operating, as no doubt it is to a large extent; but how are we to account for all the noble deeds of heathen men, done without any such hope or fear, and done oftentimes under circumstances which prevented their ever reaping any reward here, even in the shape of honour or fame? For it is very hard to understand how mere regard for self could ever carry men to death, which by them was regarded as the extinction of self; and accordingly we see that selfish men, who will do brave things so long as they repay them with the praise of their fellows, often prove cowards when a brave death would put an end to the possibility of payment. One is almost ashamed to speak of Leonidas; but it may be worth while to consider whether any being without a purely

moral basis to his nature, could have died as he and his fellows did on that little hillock in the pass of Thermopylæ.

There can be no manner of question that Paley's theory of morals is opposed to the habitual feelings of men, as expressed in their ordinary words and phrases. All morality, according to him, consists in being urged by a violent motive resulting from the command of another—in being swayed by the desire of reward. Now nothing can be more certain than that men who speak and think naturally, and without regard to theory, will refuse to call or to consider any action as good and worthy of moral approbation, which is done under violent compulsion, which is due to the command of another, which is influenced by the hope of reward. Men do, in fact, consider freedom of action and disinterestedness of sentiment as essential to good actions; foolish they may be in so doing, but all we now say is, that such is the fact. And so the language of men ever bears evidence to their belief in this momentous distinction between virtue and expediency, between the *honestum* and the *utile*. "All the ancient heathen writers," as Archbishop Whately observes (p. 62), "use words which evidently signify what we call 'virtue,' 'duty,' 'moral-goodness;' which words could not possibly have found their way into the languages of men destitute (as most of them were) of any belief in a future state of retribution, if Paley's theory were correct. It is disproved, not by any supposed truth and *soundness* in the views of the ancient writers, but by the very *words* they employ."

Paley's theory, it will at once be seen, does away with the distinction between duty and prudence; a distinction so old, so obvious, and so natural, that it shows no little courage to propose its abolition in the way he does, more especially as he candidly admits that this difference has always been understood and recognised. His statement and solution of the question are given in the following words: "Now in what, you will ask, does the difference consist? inasmuch as, according to our account of the matter, both in the one case and the other,—in acts of duty as well as acts of prudence,—we consider solely what we ourselves shall gain or lose by the act. The difference, and the only difference, is this: that in the one case, we consider what we shall gain or lose in the present world; in the other case, we consider also what we shall gain or lose in the world to come" (p. 59).

It is almost enough refutation to state Paley's own reasoning in his own words, because every one, we suppose, must feel that a time-difference is not the only difference between virtue and prudence. It is evident, on this view of the matter, that to a man not believing in future rewards and punishments, the one distinction between virtue and prudence vanishes, and

the two become absolutely one and the same. But so far from this having been the case, virtue and prudence were never confounded by the ancient moralists; and Aristotle, who, we need not repeat, had no belief in future rewards, allots a very subordinate place in his moral system to prudence, and that whilst defining it in its largest sense as the power of rightly counselling concerning the things that are good and expedient for a man's self with regard to his whole well-being.*

The request of the sons of Zebedee to sit one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of our Lord, probably had reference to a temporal reign on this earth which they were expecting: but let us for a moment suppose that the kingdom of which they spoke was the unseen and future kingdom of God. Here is an act which most of us, in our vulgar ignorance, would think prudent, indeed, and selfish, but not challenging the name of virtue. But from Paley we learn just the contrary: the request having no reference to gain in this world, had nothing to do with prudence; having to do with gain in a world to come, it was an act of virtue. Surely this is a monstrous conclusion; surely selfishness is not virtue, though it postpone its hope of enjoyment to a future and unascertained time.

The distinction between conscience and self-interest, between virtue and prudence, was well stated by Lord Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics*. "There are two things," he says, "which to a rational creature must be horridly offensive and grievous, viz. to have the reflection in his mind of any *unjust* action or behaviour, which he knows to be naturally *odious* and *ill-deserving*; or, of any foolish action or behaviour which he knows to be prejudicial to his own interest or happiness. The former of these is alone properly called Conscience, whether in a moral or religious sense: for to have awe and terror of the Deity does not of itself imply conscience. No one is esteemed the more conscientious for the fear of evil spirits, conjurations, enchantments, or whatever may proceed from any unjust, capricious, or devilish nature. Now to fear God any otherwise than as in consequence of some justly blameable and imputable act, is to fear a *devilish* nature, not a *divine* one. Nor does the fear of hell or a thousand *terrors* of the Deity imply conscience; unless where there is an apprehension of what is *wrong, odious, morally deformed, and ill-deserving*; and where this is the case, there *conscience* must have effect, and punishment of necessity be apprehended, even though it be not expressly threatened. And thus *religious conscience* supposes *moral or natural conscience*; and though the former be understood to carry with it the fear of divine punishment, it has its force, however, from the apprehended moral deformity and odious-

* Eth. Nic. vi. 5.

ness of any act with respect purely to the divine presence, and the natural veneration due to such a suppos'd being: for in such a presence the shame of villany or vice must have its force independently on that further apprehension of the magisterial capacity of such a being, and his dispensation of particular rewards or punishments in a future state."*

Those who contend for the utilitarian origin of our moral principles, ground them, of course, on induction; and in so doing, they must either overlook or deny the peculiar axiomatic character which attaches to them. It seems to us that whoever has once conceived of the notion of a duty as such, thereupon conceives of it in all its certainty and all its generality, just as he does with regard to any proposition in Euclid. Whoever, for instance, has once understood the moral obligation to truthfulness, has hold of something which can neither be increased nor lessened in its certainty by the result of his experience as to its nature or effects. It may and does require an instance or instances to bring it home to our intellectual apprehension; it requires still more to bring it home to our moral nature; but once taken hold of by this, it is there in all its extent and fulness. This fact is by no means to be explained by the hypothesis that the moral principle is a result of other men's experience, collected into a single sentence, and thus brought before us in a compacted form; for the specific difference of the mode in which we apprehend *a priori* and absolute truths, and *a posteriori* facts which are the results of experience, depends on the nature of the facts themselves, and not on the mode of their communication; not on the question whether we derive our information from our own experience, or from the experience of others; nor whether we ourselves have gathered the multifarious instances into a single conclusion, or others have done this before us. In either case the *a posteriori* fact admits of degree; it may be increased or lessened in certainty; the only difference being, that in the one case the more or the less is applied to our own experience, in the other, to the authority of our informant.

How often are men's first thoughts their best thoughts! how often is the instant involuntary sentence of our nature more true and just and honest than our after-thoughts, when we have had room and verge for consideration of the results, and calculations perhaps of self-interest! and how repeatedly do we find persons of little experience, and little capacity to judge of the ultimate effects and workings of things, the most true and just in their moral judgments! which we should not find if moral perception and sensation were but a keen insight into self-

* Vol. ii. pp. 119, 120 (edit. 1732).

interest in the end and long-run of things. How often, again, do men, or at least those who think at all about what goes on in their own minds, feel that the doubt about any action depends not at all on a calculation of the general effects of it, but on its relation to their own inner selves! how perpetually do they feel that, so to speak, the strife and the conflict are not without themselves, but within,—that in their hearts and souls, in their contending passions and emotions, lies the stress of the fight!

τί γὰρ βάλλωμεν ἔξω
μάχης ἔσω μυείσης;

For why should we shoot abroad
When the battle is raging within?

This axiomatic nature of moral truths, of which we have been speaking, has often been more or less recognised. "Such things," said Hooker, "as soon as they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further discourse to be assured of their goodness."* And philosophers of the most opposite schools—such, for instance, as Kant and Locke—have agreed in attributing to morality the character of an exact science. These theories are, of course, at utter variance with schemes like that of Paley, which reduce it to a question of profit and loss; they attribute to it an origin, not in the arid and ever-shifting sands of expediency, but in the clear and abiding well-spring of the human heart.

We have seen that Paley's theory, denying all distinction between duty and prudence, denies all regard to the motive, as distinguished from the effect, of an action: but this regard to motive, as opposed to effect, is so natural, so inherent to the human mind, that Paley himself, when he comes to consider particular duties, and to determine particular questions, is often fain to resort to it. "The motives and the effects of actions are the only points of comparison in which their moral quality can differ," says our author, when treating of the contracts of sale (p. 125), and showing the moral equality of designed concealment of some fault and falsehood in recommendation of the vendor's wares. "But the motive in these two cases is the same," he goes on; which is a very irrelevant remark, if the only motive acknowledged be the selfish desire of gaining by making the effects of our actions coincident with God's will, and so likely to win prizes hereafter. "As an act of satisfaction or revenge," he says (p. 134), when speaking of the imprisonment of insolvent debtors, "it is always wrong in the motive;"—language which, to him, ought to have been unmeaning and idle. Nor is it by any means the only instance in which our author is

* Eccl. Pol. i. sect. 8.

grossly inconsistent with himself. After having come to the conclusion that "God wills and wishes the happiness of His creatures" (p. 76), Paley goes on to discuss the relation of actions to the happiness of mankind alone: on which Dr. Whately justly observes:

"When Paley goes on from this to speak about doing good to *mankind*, it doubtless never occurred to him, or to thousands of his readers, that nothing had been said to warrant a preference, on our part, of our fellow-men to the *brute* creation, or even to *vegetables*. That there is something nobler and more virtuous, and more congenial to the best feelings of our nature, in increasing the number and promoting the welfare of the human species, than in multiplying and protecting brutes, and propagating thistles, or any other plants, seems too obvious to need being even stated. But this is because every man—Paley amongst the rest—must possess something—more or less—of those moral sentiments whose existence his theory denies." (p. 79.)

The fact is, that a writer who has to express, in words and forms of thought which throughout assume and involve the existence of moral feelings and instincts, a theory which denies such feelings and instincts, is labouring at an immense disadvantage. To use the ordinary language of moral philosophy to inculcate such a theory as Paley's, is like having to write an English essay to prove that the English language has no existence, and never had.

The existence of the conceptions of virtue and goodness has not, of course, been denied by Paley and the opponents of the moral sense; but how are they to be accounted for by them? The explanation which Paley gives is put into the mouths of these supposed disputants; for he professes too great an indifference about this "question of pure curiosity" to state any thing about it on his own behalf; and yet, from the subsequent parts of the treatise, it is impossible not to consider the statement as accepted by Paley himself.

"They say," says our author, in speaking of these opponents of the moral sense, "that the general approbation of virtue, even in instances where we have no interest of our own to induce us to it, may be accounted for without the assistance of a moral sense, thus: Having experienced in some instance a particular conduct to be beneficial to ourselves, or observed that it would be so, a sentiment of approbation rises up in our minds, which sentiment afterwards accompanies the idea or mention of the same conduct, although the private advantage which first excited it no longer exists. And this continuance of the passion after the reason of it has ceased is nothing more, say they, than what happens in other cases, especially in the love of money, which is in no person so eager as it is oftentimes found to be in a rich old miser, without family to provide for or friend to oblige by it, and to

whom consequently it is no longer (and he may be sensible of it, too) of any real use or value : yet is this man as much overjoyed with gain and mortified by losses as he was the first day he opened his shop, and when his very sustenance depended upon his success in it. By these means the custom of approving certain actions *commenced* ; and when once such a custom hath got footing in the world, it is no difficult thing to explain how it is transmitted and continued ; for *then* the greatest part of those who approve of virtue approve of it from authority, by imitation, and from a habit of approving such and such actions inculcated in early youth, and receiving as men grow up continual accessions of strength and vigour, from censure and encouragement, from the books they read, the conversations they hear, the current application of epithets, the general turn of language, and the various other causes by which it universally comes to pass, that a society of men touched in the feeblest degree with the same passion soon communicate to one another a great degree of it. This is the case with most of us at present ; and is the cause also that the *process of association* described in the last paragraph but one is little now either perceived or wanted" (pp. 19, 20).

The first suggestion here made to account for the existence of moral sentiments is a false association of ideas. Think of it for a moment: that all that seems noble, generous, unselfish, self-denying, in human nature, in human conduct,—all that thrills us in the great and glorious deeds of all time,—springs, after all, from a blunder of association, from sheer utter stupidity and muddle-headedness, from an incapacity to discriminate between conduct that is beneficial to ourselves, and the like conduct when not beneficial to ourselves. And think how monstrously stupid men must be, when even the fact that this conduct is clearly prejudicial to their own interests will not arouse them to see the distinction, will never dispel that sentiment of approbation which once, in time past, arose because they or their grandfathers fancied a like action to be beneficial to them. If this sentiment arose because the conduct was beneficial in the one case, one would have expected it to vanish when this conduct is clearly the contrary. Men are generally found to know what is and what is not for their interest with tolerable quickness ; but this theory supposes just the contrary,—that when once self-interest has approved a particular species of conduct, it goes on in stupid approbation for ever, be the consequence of that conduct what it may, whether for evil or for good to the man's self and his selfish interests, whether for riches or for poverty, for ease or for pain, for life or for death ; which is, to say the least, a singular view of human nature.

Custom is the next thing to which resort is had to explain the existence of the sentiments and habits in question. But what is custom but the habit of doing this or that? and the

inquiry is how the habit arose. It is only explaining the qualities of a thing by a statement of its nature. Custom may explain what one man does; but how can it possibly explain what mankind do, or how men came to do it? It accounts for this or that man's doing this or that particular act; but never can explain the mighty motives that have swayed the hearts of mankind through long ages, the same internal principles under a thousand varying forms of custom and outward habit. It never can account for the noble actions of men, done for the sake of conscience in defiance of custom and amidst the frowns of the world. This proposed explication of the phenomena is as utterly inadequate as the celebrated explanation of the fossil shells on the Alps by the droppings from the pilgrims over the passes.

But further, the accounts which the opponents of the moral sense are by Paley supposed to give of custom seems as false as it is inadequate. It assumes that any custom, touching any society of men in the feeblest degree, inevitably spreads through the whole mass, not in the intensity in which it first existed, but to a far greater degree; and this though the habit in question arose but from a blunder of association, and was throughout its leaven-like dissemination persistently opposed by all the selfishness and all the immoral passions of every member of the society in question. Surely there is nothing in the history of human society that lends any pretence to such an account of the origin and spread of customs as that here given.

The religious aspect of the theory of moral obligation which has been propounded by Paley would well deserve a fuller discussion than we can accord to it now; more especially as there is a large class of persons, entirely opposed to him as a theologian, who, as Dr. Whately has remarked (p. 23), "from a well-intentioned but misdirected desire to exalt God's glory and set forth man's sinfulness," strenuously maintain the validity of it. The Archbishop has justly observed (p. 24), that if we attach "no meaning to the words 'good' and 'just' and 'right,' except that such is the divine command, then to say that God is good, and His commands just, is only saying in a circuitous way that He is what He is, and that what He wills He wills; which might equally be said of any being in the universe:" and further, that if we adopt this theory, we can no longer refer to the pure and moral tone of the New Testament as an internal evidence; "for if all our moral notions are entirely derived from that book, to say that the morality of the book is correct is merely to say that it is what it is" (p. 25).

But he who adopts this theory is necessarily involved in results more irreligious still: for it is evident that he worships and serves God, not because He is holy and good and true, but

because He is strong; and that if Satan could ever offer a more violent motive than God, he should be followed, and not God. It is evident that to him might makes right; that the sole distinction between God and Satan is one of strength, not of justice; and that (if we may reverently put such a supposition) had Satan and his angels conquered in the wars of heaven, he, and not the God of truth, had rightly challenged our obedience. We confess that the worship of power, as distinct from right, has ever seemed to us to be the very essence of devil-worship; and Paley is satisfied if God be but the strongest of the devils. Such a theory appears to us so revolting and irreligious, that we almost hesitate to embody its conclusion in words.

If Paley be right in his general theory of moral obligation, and in his proposition that the Scriptures are the expressed will of God, we should find in them a very simple mode of teaching. It would be simply a setting forth of certain things as commanded and others as forbidden, with the addition of a promise of heaven and a threat of hell for the doing of the one or the other class of deeds respectively: and if ever any thing beyond this were to be found, it would be somewhat about the tendency of actions to promote or diminish the general happiness: whereas the method we find employed in the Scriptures is as remote as possible from such a one. They do, indeed, enforce the commands of God with the terrible sanctions of a future state of reward or punishment; but hope and fear are never set forth as the sole or the principal reason why an action should be done or forborne; but the primary appeal ever lies to the moral nature of man, and to the eternal distinction between right and wrong. Even the reference so often made to God's will is something far different from a mere appeal to our selfish desire of pleasure or dread of pain; rather it is like vouching the authority of one whose moral qualities are so infinitely exalted, that the conscience cannot choose but presume that what is to Him well-pleasing must be immutably and eternally right.

Again, if Paley be correct, the manner in which God is described, and His attributes set before us, in the Scriptures, is impertinent and irrelevant in the last degree. For then the one thing of all account to us—the one thing, indeed, we ever could know or understand about Him—would be His strength, His power beyond any other being to give us pleasure or pain. Then all that is said about His righteousness, His justice, His truth, is but mocking us with lofty but idle words; nay, more, it is a base attempt to deceive us with the belief that He has claims on our allegiance which neither He nor any other being ever can have. If the Scriptures be true and Paley right, God would

have been set forth with the attribute of power only, not as just, and true, and righteous altogether.

The scriptural mode of inculcating duties may be well illustrated by an instance which Paley himself has given. "Obedience to parents," he remarks, "is enjoined by St. Paul to the Ephesians: 'Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right;' and to the Colossians, 'Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well-pleasing unto the Lord'" (p. 245). Now surely, if Paley's theory of moral obligation be right, the sole motive set before the children would have been that obedience would hereafter bring reward, and disobedience pain: St. Paul would never have made so irrelevant an observation as that this was right; he would never have embarrassed the innocent minds of the children with such a roundabout way of stating the motive as that obedience was well-pleasing to the Lord.

Paley himself, in an unguarded moment, admitted what we are contending for. "The Scriptures," he says, "commonly presuppose in the persons to whom they speak a knowledge of the principles of natural justice; and are employed not so much to teach *new* rules of morality, as to enforce the practice of it by *new* sanctions, and by a *greater certainty*; which last seems to be the proper business of a revelation from God, and what was most wanted" (p. 16). How it is possible to reconcile this statement with the moral system subsequently laid down, is not clear or easy to understand. What has justice to do with the matter, when by Paley's definition all moral obligation consists in "the expectation of being after this life rewarded if I do, or punished if I do not"? (p. 59.) It is a simple question of command: and how can any question arise about justice?—still more, how can it be natural, when by Paley's hypothesis the nature of man is but a *tabula rasa*, a dumb dog, with no voice or utterance of its own, and influenced only by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, according as it does or does not the behest of its tyrant? The whole sentence is an admission of that which Paley means to deny.

Morality involves two things, knowing and doing; and these are unfortunately but too distinct from one another. It seems strange that a man knowing the better should do the worse—so strange, that it was some time before men could bring themselves to the belief of it. Socrates, as all know, thought vice and ignorance one and the same thing: he conceived that men's minds were confused, that mere semblances were taken for realities, and things evil were mingled in conception with things good; and accordingly all his efforts were but to draw out from the consciences and hearts of his hearers, or rather answerers, those

truths which lay within their hearts, buried, hidden, and asleep. He never dreamed that when those truths were really aroused, when men had become distinctly conscious of them, they could or would go on doing the evil whilst thus knowing the good.

A few years, however, sufficed to dispel the illusion: a little space of time was enough to show that to know and to do were not identical or co-extensive; and the great Peripatetic was obliged to admit the existence of this failing in the soul—this impotency to do what it knows is best to be done, and what it, indeed, does desire to do. Aristotle wisely discriminated between this incapacity to follow the better, and the desire to follow the worse—between the impotency or incontinence of the soul and its intemperance, if we may strive so to distinguish vices which our English tongue has no specific words to express at all equivalent to the *ἀκρασία* and *ἀκολασία* of Aristotle.

Now it is exactly here, as it seems to us, that the great point of incidence of Christianity on the moral nature of man is to be found,—in overcoming this impotency of man to do what he knows he ought to do. It is just in this part of the battle-field, in this moment of the strife, that Christianity comes to the rescue, with its mysterious influences, its divine aids, its superhuman strength. Before it came, there was the moral law, the sense of right and wrong, the consciousness of good and evil, the desire to follow the one and to eschew the other; but there also came the passions—greed, and lust, and self in its myriad forms of evil; and all these principalities and powers were joined together in the strife of a ceaseless battle, waged with varying and uncertain issue, where the voice of conscience was drowned mid the war-cry of contending desires and the shout of triumphant passions. Then heaven was opened, and its hosts were seen ready to join in the conflict, and to subdue all this confused medley into a state of perfect harmony, where conscience is as supreme in power as before she had been in right.

We are not saying that the communication of this superhuman aid was all that Christianity has effected, or was designed to effect, even as regards morality alone. It unquestionably did much more. It not only supplied fresh motives for right practice, and fresh obligations for the pursuit of virtue, through its revelations, but it expanded and improved the text of the moral law. On this point Archbishop Whately has well observed, that “all the peculiarities of the gospel morality appear manifestly, on an attentive inspection, to consist not in departures from natural morality, but in the correction, completion, and exaltation of what had been laid down by human moralists. It is not in contradiction, but in conformity to the purest ethical principles that Christianity amends what is faulty, supplies what

is deficient, and improves what is right in human systems" (p. 66).

In the admirable essay in the *Friend*,* in which Coleridge has discussed Paley's doctrine of the utility of actions considered as the criterion of their morality, he has pointed out how our author's system is opposed to the Christian scheme in the confounding of morality with law; in the substitution of obedience for faith; and how it necessarily denies the doctrine propounded by the Scriptures of the judgment of God on our actions. For the Scriptures tell us of an Omniscient as well as All-powerful Being, who shall judge us hereafter according to the thoughts and intents of the heart, and not according as our actions have resulted in apparent good or apparent evil to our fellows: whereas Paley, in fact, tells us that motives—that is, these thoughts and intents—are of no moment at all. "One of the most persuasive, if not one of the strongest, arguments for a future state," as Coleridge remarks in the essay to which we have referred, "rests in the belief, that although by the necessity of things, our outward and temporal welfare must be regulated by our outward actions, which alone can be the objects and guides of human law, there must yet needs come a juster and more appropriate sentence hereafter, in which our intentions will be considered, and our happiness and misery made to accord with the grounds of our actions. Our fellow-creatures can only judge what we are by what we do; but in the eye of our Maker, what we do is of no worth, except as it flows from what we are. Though the fig-tree should produce no visible fruit, yet if the living sap is in it, and if it has struggled to put forth buds and blossoms, which have been prevented from maturing by inevitable contingencies of tempests or untimely frosts, the virtuous sap will be accounted as fruit; and the curse of barrenness will light on many a tree from the boughs of which hundreds have been satisfied, because the Omniscient Judge knows that the fruits were threaded to the boughs artificially by the outward working of base fear and selfish hopes, and were neither nourished by the love of God or of man, nor grew out of the graces engrafted on the stock by religion."

There is one, amongst the somewhat miscellaneous observations with which Paley concludes his first book, to which we must briefly call attention before concluding,—that, we mean, in which he lays down the well-known rule in morality about the safe side. "In every question of conduct, where one side is doubtful and the other side safe, we are bound to take the safe side." A very little consideration will tell any one that, though this may be true, it is far from being the whole truth; and Dr.

* Vol. ii. Essay xi.

Whately has some observations on it which are worth reading. "This very ancient maxim," he observes, "which is most just and valuable, is one of which the misapplication has led to an unspeakable amount of evil. I mean, when men have sought to keep on the safe side, but have erred as to what is the safe side; for (1) what *appears* to be perfectly safe and harmless, will sometimes not be really such; and (2) that which is *in itself* harmless, may, under some circumstances, carry with it the admission of a *dangerous principle*" (pp. 52, 53).

But the limitation which we should be inclined to put upon the rule, as far more natural, and therefore far sounder, is this,—that the consideration of safety should never be resorted to until the consideration of right and truth has been exhausted. We mean, that a man, in considering any question of moral conduct, should first consider what is true, what is right,—with the utmost indifference as to whether the answer to that question will redound to safety or danger, ease or disquiet, convenience or inconvenience. But if this investigation, having been honestly pursued to the end, leaves no certain result; if every means have been tried in vain, and, after all, the scales hang even and undecided,—then, and then only, may he resort to the consideration of whether of the two courses is the one of safety. We should all rightly despise a man who acted, on the hypothesis of there being future rewards and punishments, because he thought it safer, without ever giving himself the trouble to inquire what reasons there were for the belief; though we should regard as rightly prudent, and in that sense wise, a man who so acted because, after the most patient search, he still felt left in somewhat of doubt—felt that an assured decision was for him impossible.

We feel at once the miserable cowardice of flying to considerations of safety, when we ought to seek for what is true, and ought to be willing to follow that through all risks and dangers, nay, if need be, to certain destruction; so little has safety, primarily, to do with the matter. Hide nothing from us, let us know the worst, if it be the truth. *Ἐν φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον*, "Give light, and let us die," is the prayer of every true heart. The consideration of safety, whether here or hereafter, is alike secondary in any soul conscious of such a thing as truth. To try and stay our hunger after truth with considerations about our safety, is like the Indians, who fill their stomachs with earth to stave off the gnawings of want.

The cowardly nature of the maxim about the safe side, when so understood, has been so well characterised by Lord Shaftesbury, that we willingly conclude with another extract from him. "'Tis the most beggarly refuge imaginable," he says, "which

is so mightily cry'd up, and stands as a great maxim with many able men,—‘that they should strive to have faith, and believe to the utmost, because if, after all, there be nothing in the matter, there will be no harm in being thus deceived; but, if there be any thing, it will be fatal for them not to have believed to the full.’ But they are so far mistaken, that whilst they have this thought, ’tis certain they can never believe either to their satisfaction and happiness in this world, or with any advantage of recommendation to another. For besides that our reason, which knows the cheat, will never rest thorowly satisfy’d on such a bottom, but turn us often adrift, and toss us in a sea of doubt and perplexity; we cannot but actually grow *worse* in our religion, and entertain a *worse* opinion still of a *Supreme* Deity, whilst our belief is founded on so injurious a thought of Him.”*

ART. IV.—THE BLIND.

Des Aveugles: Considérations sur leur état physique, moral et intellectuel, avec un exposé complet des moyens propres à améliorer leur sort à l'aide de l'instruction et du travail. Par P. A. Dufau, Directeur de l'Institution Nationale des Aveugles de Paris. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. Seconde édition. Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie. 1850.

Souvenirs d'une Aveugle-née, recueillis et écrits par elle-même. Publiés par P. A. Dufau. Paris: Renouard et Cie. 1851.

The Sense [of Vision] denied and lost. By Thomas Bull, M.D. Edited by the Rev. B. G. Johns, Chaplain of the Blind School, St. George's Fields. London: Longman and Co. 1859.

The Land of Silence and the Land of Darkness. By the Rev. B. G. Johns. London: Longman and Co. 1857.

The Lost Senses. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. Series II.—Blindness. London: Charles Knight and Co. 1845.

Essai sur l'Instruction des Aveugles, ou exposé analytique des procédés employés pour les instruire. Par le Docteur Guillié. Seconde édition. Paris: imprimé par les Aveugles. 1819.

“In the month of August 1425, as we read in the *Journal de Paris*, under the reigns of Charles V. and Charles VI., p. 104, four blind men,” says M. Dufau, “covered with armour and armed with staves, were shut up in the lists at the Hotel d’Armagnac with a pig of great size, which was to be the prize

* Characteristics, i. 37 (edit. 1732).

of the man who should kill it. When the contest began, the poor blind men, pursuing the pig and striking at random, gave one another such rude blows, to the great delight of the lookers-on, that they grew angry; for when they were most confident of hitting the pig, they hit one another; and if they had not been covered with armour, they would in truth have slain each other.”*

We are reminded by this story of Sydney Smith's remark in criticising some philosophical speculations of the earlier Greek schools, that common sense was not invented then. In the fifteenth century, natural human feeling seems scarcely to have been invented. But against the incident above related it is only fair to put the foundation of the Hospice des Quinze Vingt by St. Louis IX., in 1265, as an asylum for three hundred knights who had lost their eyesight in the crusades; and of a similar institution, dating also from the thirteenth century, at Chartres. We fear, however, that while the story told in the *Journal de Paris* illustrates with only too much truth the unthinking cruelty of a barbarous age, the establishments mentioned in the last sentence are to be attributed chiefly to the personal benevolence of the saintly monarch. Impulses good and bad, of the noblest generosity and the intensest selfishness, are not unfrequent in any nation at any time. They are most frequent, perhaps, among uncultivated people. But the systematic and deliberate consideration, to which it is as a rule and duty,

“Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels,”

is of slow growth. To whatever extent it can be said to exist now among Christian communities, it is indisputably quite modern.

Of the condition of the blind in the ancient world little is known. The fact that they form the subject of special and benevolent legislation in the Jewish code—witness the precepts, “Thou shalt not put a stumbling-block in the way of the blind, but shalt fear thy God,” and “Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way”—is no doubt due to the fact, that throughout the East the blind form a very considerable proportion of the entire population. These injunctions are in contrast with the Jewish belief (possibly of later origin), that blindness was a divine judgment on, and a punishment of, sin. This belief is itself reversed in other Eastern countries, “where,” as Mr. Johns remarks, “the blind are regarded in some sense as sacred persons under the special

* Des Aveugles, p. xiii.

favour of Heaven. Not long since," he adds, "an intelligent friend of ours, a great traveller, who happens to be blind, in passing through Tetuan, an old Moorish city of Africa, was welcomed and fêted with peculiar honours, chiefly on account of his blindness."*

If we do not find among ancient heathen nations any systematic provision for the relief of the blind, as little do we find any trace of inhuman feelings directed towards them. Medical works leave no doubt, M. Dufau tells us, that the blind were numerous in Italy and in Roman Asia, though one of the most prolific causes of congenital blindness did not then exist. His statement, that institutions of public benevolence are foreign to the spirit of nations among whom slavery reigns, is substantially true.† The reason is, that the necessitous in such countries are principally slaves; and that slaves, being private property, are naturally also a private charge, and not a public burden. We cannot, therefore, accept the non-existence of asylums and training-schools for the blind in Greece and Italy as an illustration of heathen indifference to suffering. M. Dufau's remarks on this subject contain a larger amount of conjecture than is consistent with sound historical judgment.

"Among the thousands of slaves," he says, "possessed by an opulent Roman, the child which was born blind, sometimes no doubt became a kind of drudge (*souffre-douleur*), exposed to the caprices of his master, and the barbarous sports of his degraded companions; oftener, perhaps, being regarded simply as a burdensome property, he was slain in his cradle; so we may reasonably conjecture, when we notice that no blind man is ever signalised among the clan of freedmen as having worked his way to liberty by his talent. How is it that the blind, if they were allowed to live, did not manifest, as in our days, that general and constant aptitude for music, which forms one of the distinctive traits of their organisation; how is it that no skilful performer on the flute or lyre is found, recommended by his very condition to the notice of writers? Moreover, to suppose the deliberate destruction of children afflicted with an important organic defect, is not to calumniate antiquity. At Sparta they were thrown into the Eurotas; and we know that, even at the present day, among some Eastern nations, infirm infants newly born pass at once from life to death."

An argument, every clause of which is introduced by a "peut-être," a "sans doute," or a "conjecture à bon droit," fails of cogency. The inference from Sparta to Rome, from the destruction of free-born children on the Eurotas to that of blind-born slaves on the Tiber, and from existing practices in

* Lands of Silence and Darkness, p. 98.

† It is not, however, entirely true, as the relief given to the ἀδύνατοι at Athens, and to the *alimentarii* at Rome, shows.

Eastern nations to the conduct of the nations of classical antiquity, involves a logical leap in which we cannot follow the author. But even if the facts he states did warrant the conclusion (in the absence of distinct testimony) that Roman slaves born blind were habitually put to death in their cradles, this circumstance would help M. Dufau but little. The great majority of blind persons (slaves no less than others) become blind in adult age; very few indeed before their eighth year; while no one (according to M. Dufau) is ever, strictly speaking, born blind.* The destruction of all slaves who lost their sight in early childhood would not materially have diminished the total number of blind slaves. Considering, moreover, that the younger among the blind would almost necessarily—from the inapplicability of the ordinary means of culture, and the non-existence of any special system of training—be intellectually less advanced than those whose sight was lost at a maturer age, it is not among the former that we should expect to find a talent capable of working its way to freedom. With regard to the fact that no mention is made, in any classical author, of slaves acquiring celebrity by musical talent, it is worth noting that music does not seem to have been among the liberal or semi-liberal arts, which slaves were sometimes encouraged to cultivate. There were *servi literati*, literary slaves, who acted as readers, amanuenses, copiers for booksellers, secretaries, short-hand writers; but we find no mention of a class of musical slaves, corresponding to the *anagnostæ* and *librarii*. The tradition which represented Homer as blind, and the description given in the *Odyssey* of the Phæacian bard Demodocus—

τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε
ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν†—

point distinctly to a sympathy with the blind, as at once chastened by and loved of the gods, to whom, as they are

“from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature's works,
So much the rather the celestial light
Shines inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiates
. that they may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.”

* “Il n'y a pas d'aveugles-nés, à proprement parler, c'est à dire d'enfants sortant aveugles du sein de leur mère, par suite de l'état spécial de l'appareil visuel.” *Des Aveugles*, p. 1.

† *Odyssey*, viii. 63:

“Dear to the Muse who gave his days to flow,
With mighty blessings mixed with mighty woe,
In clouds and darkness quenched his visual ray,
Yet gave him power to raise the lofty lay.” *Pope*.

In the *Œdipus at Colonus*, no doubt other elements of tragic emotion are predominant; but no reader can be insensible to the degree in which the blindness of the dethroned and wandering monarch is made to add to the pathos of the character and the situation.

The philosophers, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius—among them Democritus—who put out their eyes in order to concentrate their attention on the abstractions with which they were engaged; and the more trustworthy allusions in many of Cicero's writings to his old teacher Diodotus, whose loss of sight did not interfere with his skill in teaching geometry,—are, as far as we know, the principal documents in relation to blindness to be found in the classical writers of heathendom.

Turning to the East, there is evidence that music was an art especially cultivated in Egypt by the blind. "Among the mural tablets of the ancient Egyptians," says Dr. Kitto, "there is one, copied by Rossellini and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, which is among the very few exhibiting any thing of character or sentiment, or able to inspire any emotion. It is from the tombs of Alabastron, and represents a blind harper sitting cross-legged on the ground, attended by seven other blind men similarly seated, who sing and beat time with their hands. They are clearly professional musicians; and from this we learn that music was a source of employment in Egypt to the blind, who in that country have always been frightfully numerous. That it was no less a source of enjoyment is manifest in their countenances, lighted up with animation and interest in their work; while the artist has contrived that not only the eyes, but every feature of the face, and the position of the heads, express the *blindness* of their condition."*

In more modern times, Chardin's account of the blind Persian princes at Ispahan, whose mathematical attainments and methods of study he describes, and the more questionable stories told by Charlevoix of the college of blind men in Japan, to whose memory the public records of the empire are confided, are the chief records of this class in the East.

It would be an endless and useless task to enumerate even the names of those who, since the Christian era, have, notwithstanding the absence of what is ordinarily deemed the most essential of the inlets of knowledge, been distinguished by proficiency in the various departments of intellectual culture and research. A tolerably complete list of these will be found in the article on the Instruction of the Blind in the original edition of the *Penny Cyclopædia*. It presents us with votaries of the mathematical and physico-mathematical sciences, the sciences of observation and

* Kitto, p. 171.

experiment;—chemistry and natural history, speculative philosophy, law, medicine, and divinity, politics and history, poetry, music, and sculpture, and the various arts of mechanical construction. Unfortunately the names of those who thus pursued knowledge under difficulties, and the fact of their achievements, are all that is recorded. Stupid indifference and neglect, or scarcely more intelligent wonder (as at the tricks of trained animals, or at striking displays of untrained animal instinct), with its unfailing accompaniment of exaggeration, do not seem to have given place to any more worthy curiosity. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that an attempt was made to realise the intellectual and moral condition of the blind. Diderot's *Lettre sur les Aveugles, à l'usage de ceux qui voient* ("Letter on the Blind, for the use of those who see"), published in 1749, first distinctly suggested and exemplified the manner in which the study of the experience and feelings of the blind might be made to throw light upon some of the most interesting problems of mental science. If it can be ascertained that the blind are, as a rule, without, or possess only in an inferior degree and undeveloped condition, ideas and perceptions which are the common property of those who see; if certain otherwise universal emotions and feelings are absent from their minds, or only feebly present to them; if a marked mental tendency, a certain cast of character differencing them as a class from other human beings, can be detected,—an important aid is gained towards the determination of the part which the faculty of vision plays in the acquisition of knowledge, the training of the intellect, and the formation of the tastes, affections, and moral dispositions. This essay of Diderot's, and a subsequent production of the same author, *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets, à l'usage de ceux qui entendent et qui parlent* ("Letter on Deaf Mutes, for the use of those who hear and speak"), published in 1751, occupy an important place in the history, not only of the literature of our present subject, but of philosophy in France, and, through France, in Europe. They suggested the method of exposition and illustration which Condillac made use of in his *Traité des Sensations*. Speculation in France, since the publication of that work, and until the reaction during the closing years of Napoleon's reign, was simply the explanation and development of the doctrines then laid down. In it, as is well known, Condillac supposes a "statue endowed with an interior organisation like our own, but with a mind totally destitute of ideas." He further "supposes that the exterior, consisting entirely of marble, does not allow it the use of any of the senses; and reserves to himself the liberty of opening them at discretion to the different impressions of which they are susceptible." By gifting it at first

with each sense separately, and then with all the possible combinations of the different senses, he endeavours to determine the feelings and conceptions due to their action, first in isolation, and secondly in conjunction.

"The idea," say the editors of the Brussels edition (1825) of Diderot's *Philosophical Works*,—"the idea of decomposing a man to ascertain what he derives from each of the senses which he possesses, and that of a company of five persons each endowed with only one sense, evidently gave birth to the *Statue organisée intérieurement comme nous*, which Condillac has placed in his *Traité des Sensations*, published three years after the *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets*.* In his *Réponse à un reproche qui m'a été fait sur le projet exécuté dans le Traité des Sensations*, Condillac has not succeeded in exculpating himself; and the *Biographie Universelle* is in error in saying, 'it is alleged that this work is contained in the Letters on the Blind and on Deaf Mutes. . . . Condillac felt the imputation; he cited two fragments from Diderot, and it is clear that the latter was not the author of Condillac's treatise;' but every one acknowledges that Condillac drew from Diderot the idea of his *Statue*. *Sum cuique*."

It is not to the credit of English thinkers that the first really philosophical work on what Diderot calls "la morale et la métaphysique des aveugles" should have proceeded from a French writer, since his materials and his method of dealing with them certainly came from England. The doctrine which he aimed to enforce was derived (whether by a correct interpretation or not) from Locke. His method of inquiry was that of Bacon, of whose *Novum Organon* Diderot was the first French expounder. Special circumstances would seem likely to have directed attention in England to the condition of the blind, and to the various problems on which an examination of that condition might be expected to throw light. In Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, published in 1690, the question was mooted, whether a blind man restored to sight would be able to recognise by his eye, and without handling them, geometrical figures which he had known during his blindness by touch. Hobbes afterwards, we believe, discussed the same question. In 1709, Berkeley published his *Theory of Vision*. In 1728, Cheselden contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions* his celebrated report entitled, "Account of some Observations made by a young gentleman who was born blind, or lost his sight so early that he had no remembrance of ever having seen, and was couched between thirteen and fourteen years of age." Dr. Saunderson, who died in 1739, had presented the extra-

* The *Lettre sur les Sourds et Muets* was published in 1751.

ordinary spectacle of a man totally blind from his first year filling with distinction the office of Mathematical Professor at Cambridge, and instructing those who saw in the laws of light. Yet all these favouring circumstances failed to incite to intelligent curiosity. Diderot himself administered a well-deserved rebuke to this sluggish indifference: "England," he says, "is the country of philosophers, of inquirers, of men of system; nevertheless, except for Mr. Inchcliff, we should have known of Saunderson only what the most ordinary men could have told us; for example, that he recognised places into which he had once been introduced by the echo from the walls and pavements, and a hundred other things of the same kind which were common to him with nearly all blind men. What, then! are blind men of Saunderson's merit so frequently to be met with in England? and are people to be found there every day who have never seen, and who lecture on optics?" (p. 176.)

The subject opened out in Diderot's letter does not appear to have been followed up. Excepting its influence on Condillac, its only effect was one personal to the author. The heterodox opinions broached in it procured him a *lettre de cachet* and three months' imprisonment in the Bastille, of which twenty-nine days were spent in solitary confinement, without books or light. As he refused, however, to give up the name of his printer, and as his services were required for the forthcoming *Encyclopædia*, he was at length released.

To another Frenchman we owe the foundation of the first institution for the education of the blind. The success of the Abbé Epée as a teacher of the deaf and dumb suggested to Valentine Haüy (the brother of the discoverer of the derivative forms of crystals) the "idea of communicating to another class of unfortunates, hitherto not less neglected, the benefit of instruction."

"But if this generous thought became henceforth fixed in his mind, an accidental and whimsical circumstance was needed to determine him to realise it. Haüy has himself related it in the following terms: 'Many years ago, a novelty of a singular character attracted a crowd of people at the entrance of one of those public walks where honest citizens are wont to take relaxation at the fall of day: eight or ten blind men, with spectacles on nose, posted behind a desk, with music-books before them, performed a discordant symphony, which seemed very much to delight the standers-by. A feeling of quite a different kind took possession of my mind; and I conceived at that moment the possibility of turning to account for their benefit the means of which they made a pretended and ridiculous use. "Does not the blind man," I said to myself, "recognise objects by the diversity of their forms? Is he ever mistaken as to the value of a piece of money? Why should

he not distinguish an *ut* from a *sol*, an *a* from a *g*, if these characters were made palpable?" Such was the origin of the method of special instruction created by Haüy" [by means of works printed in relief].*

Having proved its practicability in the case of a single pupil, who up to this time had begged at church-doors, and whom he paid for receiving his instruction, Haüy obtained the coöperation, first of the "Philanthropic Society," and then of the government, for the purpose of experiments on a large scale. The result was the foundation of the School for the Young Blind, from which arose the National (now probably the Imperial) Institution for the Blind at Paris. In 1806, he visited St. Petersburg, at the invitation of the Russian government, in order to superintend the establishment of an institution of a similar character in that city. In this task he spent eleven years, and returned to France in 1817. The asylums and schools for the blind which now exist in almost every capital and populous town of Europe and the United States, are as certainly, if less directly, founded by Valentine Haüy as those of Paris and St. Petersburg. The systematic attention which, since the beginning of the present century, has been paid in these establishments to the condition of the blind, has been naturally directed more to the practical amelioration of their lot in life than to systematic inquiry into the points of scientific interest which their privation presents; in other words (unlike Diderot's *Lettre*), it has had for its end, not "the use of those who see," but the benefit of those who do not see. The training provided in the schools for the blind, especially those in England and in the United States, is chiefly industrial. Only the most rudimentary general education is imparted. The inmates, belonging mostly to the indigent classes, are taught such trades as they can exercise with reasonable hope of supporting themselves when they quit the asylum. In many of the continental schools, on the other hand, notably in that at Paris, a higher intellectual training is aimed at. It is this circumstance, probably, which has given to the works of foreign writers a higher value and a wider scope than can in general be predicated of those of their English and American *collaborateurs*. The latter, no doubt, contain many valuable facts and suggestions; but they seldom rise above details, and are generally too much devoted to the technicalities of what a German writer, with true German love of an imposing terminology, calls *typhlopädagogik*, to be very profitable, except to professional teachers or others practically concerned in the administration of institutions for the blind. The books, again, which address the general

* Dufau, Des Aveugles, pp. 305, 306.

public are almost purely anecdotal, not to say gossiping. Many French and German works are of a higher order. Among these, the treatise of M. Dufau stands preëminent for the evidence which it presents of exhaustive knowledge of his subject, both in its theoretic and practical aspects, for the philosophic method and powers of generalisation it displays, as well as the insight it gives into the many interesting questions of psychology to which the study of the mental life of the blind introduces us. The blind are treated of in his essay as "at once objects of social beneficence and of scientific observation;" and in either relation with equal skill. It is in the latter aspect that we propose now to view them. But before proceeding to this part of our subject, we desire to gather together such scanty statistics of blindness as have been collected. They are far from being either extensive or exact enough to warrant any very positive conclusions on the points to the clearing-up of which attention should be drawn. Among these, M. Dufau, to whom (except when another authority is expressly cited) we are indebted for the details about to be stated, enumerates the "relative extent to which blindness prevails in town and country, in agricultural and manufacturing districts, dry and marshy lands; the various degrees of blindness; the age at which in each case it has supervened; the rank in life of the sufferers," &c.

The following figures convey the proportion which the blind hold, in the undermentioned countries, to the entire population. The average of three censuses, taken in Prussia in the years 1831, 1834, and 1837, gives one blind person among 1401 inhabitants. In Belgium, in 1831, the proportion was rather higher, being one in 1316. As regards France, no reliable information appears to exist. M. Dufau, comparing it with the two neighbouring countries, states that in 1836, supposing the proportion of blind the same as in Prussia, there would have been 23,862 of this class in France; and if the ratio were equal to that of Belgium, 25,487; or, taking a mean, 24,675. In an English book published this year, *Realities of Paris Life*, the number of blind in France is estimated at 50,000. But this is mere guess-work. Among the subjects of Queen Victoria, according to Mr. Johns, the ratio is one in 1000, there being 30,000 blind among 30,000,000 who see. In Ireland one in 870 is blind; in Sweden one in 1091; in Norway one in 566. In Spain the number of blind persons is very great. In Egypt and Morocco they are rudely estimated in the ratio of one to every hundred of the population. Of the white inhabitants of the United States, one in 2824 is blind; among the coloured population the proportion is nearly twice as great, being one in 1465.* In Africa,

* Dufau, p. 217. The partial identity of these numbers with those given by

on the other hand, the white population is said to suffer more than the black from ophthalmic affections. Dr. Zeune of Berlin has drawn up a table representing the manner in which, as he believes, blindness varies according to degrees of latitude:

Latitude 20° to 30° 1 blind in 100 individuals.					
"	30	"	40	1	" 300 "
"	40	"	50	1	" 800 "
"	50	"	60	1	" 1400 "
"	60	"	70	1	" 1000 "

It is evident, however, that a definite numerical statement of this kind is as yet (to say the least) premature. Some of the details already cited conflict with it. Dr. Zeune's general principle is, however, true, that "the number of the blind, considerable in the more northern parts of the globe, diminishes in the temperate zones, and then increases more rapidly as we approach the equator, where it is at its maximum." Still it is impossible at present to draw lines of equal blindness, like the lines of equal heat which physical geographers have laid down; and it is clear that the former would, just as little as the latter, correspond exactly with the parallels of latitude. Conditions of climate, soil, and employment; social arrangements—sanitary, economical, and others; and many other circumstances which do not vary as the distances from the equator, are no doubt causes which, as they affect the physical organisation for good or ill, tend to promote or check blindness. There seems some reason to believe that mountainous districts are more favourable to the preservation of sight than flat tracts of country. In the canton of Berne, a return made in 1840 gave few blind—one in 1570. In the three more elevated provinces of Prussia, the blind were one in 1613; in the ten lower and more level provinces, one in 1308.

As regards the age at which blindness occurs, it seems established that comparatively few cases occur in childhood, or even adolescence. "In Prussia, in 1831, it was calculated that out

Mr. Johns respecting Pennsylvania alone, makes it possible that we have, in one case or the other, an inaccurate form of the same statement. "There are some points of detail connected with the statistics of blindness in America of which we can offer our readers no satisfactory explanation. For example, why should the free and independent drab-coated men of Pennsylvania, having white skins, suffer only to the amount of one in 2842; *negroes in a state of freedom*, to that of one in 370; while if they do not survive sugar-hoeing, and never emerge into free life, blindness attacks only one in 2645? If the statistics be true,—and we quote on the best authority,—great must be the virtues of sugar-planting and hoeing, and gross, we fear, the excesses into which liberty too often leads the free and emancipated negro:—Mrs. H. B. Stowe nevertheless and notwithstanding" (*Land of Darkness*, pp. 99, 100). If the same figures were cited of Roman bondsmen and *liberti*, they would furnish a more powerful argument than any M. Dufau has been able to bring forward to show that Roman masters were in the habit of destroying their blind slaves;—and yet an entirely false one.

of 9212 blind persons of every age, 846, or nearly one-eleventh, were between one and fifteen years of age; while in Sweden, in 1840, on a total number of 2790 blind, only 138, or one-twentieth, belonged to this category." In the duchy of Brunswick, out of 286 blind persons, 14, or one-twentieth, were under seven years of age; 18, or one-fifteenth, under fifteen years of age. Dr. Bull sets down 2500 out of 30,000 (that is, one-twelfth of the whole) as born blind in England; by which he means blind before their eighth year. In America, the adolescent blind apparently furnish a much larger percentage of a much smaller number of blind. "From a recent report of the Pennsylvania Blind-School," says Mr. Johns, "we find that there are 10,000 blind persons in the United States; of whom 8000 are under thirty-five years of age, 4000 blind at birth, or before the third year, and 5500 [including, of course, the 4000 just named] before the tenth year."* In France, in Prussia, and in Belgium, the greater number of the blind belong to the male sex.

As regards the hereditary transmission of blindness, the solitary fact stated by M. Dufau, and that without much confidence in its accuracy, is that in England such cases are four per cent. The proportion, he thinks, is probably higher. A single fact conveys the only statement we can give as to the relative prevalence of different degrees of blindness. "In the duchy of Brunswick, in 1842, of 277 [accounted] blind persons, three saw moderately (*avaient un œil médiocre*), six saw confusedly (*jouissaient d'une vue confuse*), fifty-one had what is called a point of view (*avaient ce qu'on appelle un point de vue*), the blindness of the remaining 217 was complete."†

We have now quoted all the facts on which we could lay our hands, at the risk of wearying the reader, to show the inadequacy of the existing knowledge on the subject as the basis of any but the most provisional generalisations and inferences as to the causes of blindness, and to justify our abstinence from any inquiry into those causes, which at present stand in need of more facts and less speculation on them. On most of the points referred to,—the geographical distribution of the blind; the relative numbers of blind children, adolescents, and adults; of men and women; the age at which vision disappeared; the comparative prevalence of blindness in different ranks in life, as indicated by the employments of the parents or of the sufferers themselves,—it would be quite easy in England to collect a body of exact and authentic information on the occasion of the next census. If proper explanations were offered, few would object to make the requisite returns, which could scarcely be made other than volun-

* Land of Darkness, p. 99.

† Dufau, p. 222.

tarily. Information on some of these heads was, in fact, asked for and obtained in Ireland on occasion of the last census.

In considering the characteristics of the blind as a class, we begin with their physical nature, to which Bloomfield's imaginative description of the life of the blind boy may serve as an introduction :

“Where’s the blind boy, so admirably fair,
With guileless dimples, and with flaxen hair
That waves in every breeze ? He’s often seen
Beyond yon cottage-wall, or on the green,
With others match’d in spirit and in size,
Health on their cheeks and rapture in their eyes.
That full expanse of voice, to children dear,
Soul of their sports, is duly cherished here.
And hark ! that laugh is his,—that jovial cry—
He hears the ball and trundling hoop brush by,
And runs the giddy course with all his might,—
A very child in every thing but sight ;
With circumscribed but not abated powers,
Play the great object of his infant hours.
In many a game he takes a noisy part,
And shows the native gladness of his heart.”

Dr. Bull, who quotes this fancy sketch, says that the picture which it contains is “touchingly and most truthfully delineated.” “Foremost among his young companions in their pleasant pastime,” says the Doctor in his own person, “he [the blind child] pursues his sport as active and daring as any, guided and guarded by the exquisite keenness of the perceptions of hearing and touch.”* There are instances familiar to every one, which both Bloomfield’s and Dr. Bull’s language very faintly and inadequately portray. Such is that of John Metcalf (or, as he was called, “Blind Jack”), celebrated as a lad for his boldness in swimming, diving, fox-hunting, and all daring and athletic amusements.† So far, however, is it from being true that

* Sense [of Vision] Denied and Lost, p. 37.

† As we may afterwards have to refer to the case of Metcalf, it may be well to give some account of him here.

John Metcalf was born at Knaresborough, in 1716. He lost his sight through smallpox, when he was six years of age. At fifteen he was employed to dive for the bodies of two drowned men in the river Nid, and succeeded in bringing one of them up. He also dived for, and brought up, two packs of yarn, which were sunk in twenty-one feet of water. He rode and won a race, on his own horse ; and enlisting in 1745 in Thornton’s troop, fought at Culloden and elsewhere. He afterwards acted as a guide for belated travellers, and drove a stage-waggon between York and Knaresborough. After studying mensuration and engineering, “we soon find him engaged,” says Dr. Bull, from whom we have abridged the foregoing statement, “as a projector and surveyor of roads and bridges. Amongst other works, he built Boroughbridge, and made roads through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire. Dr. Bew, the intimate friend of Dr. Moysse, was well acquainted with Metcalf, and thus speaks of him : ‘With the assistance only of a long staff, I have several times seen this man traversing the roads, ascending precipices, exploring valleys, and investigating their several

blind children ordinarily manifest the same bodily energy, that M. Dufau points out in them a tendency to inaction and repose which is in remarkable contrast with the incessant and restless mobility of children who see. Instead of "running the giddy course with all their might," a "more or less rapid walk, according as the place in which they may be is more or less known to them, is generally the only exercise they take." There are children who arrive at the age of reason without ever having run. "Their games," says the same authority, "are seldom animated." At work, their immobility is even more striking. "At most one sees a hand noiselessly seeking its neighbour hand: the words *Tenez-vous tranquille*, which are elsewhere always in the master's mouth, are here rarely used; it is very common to see young people, who have reached the time of life at which an ardent activity develops itself in us, remaining for a quarter of an hour at a time perfectly motionless: their closed eyes, their grave foreheads, their countenances, in which the soul fails to be reflected, then present the appearance of the calmest sleep. When their features are good, you might think them antique busts, the models of which had been borrowed from the school of Zeno."*

This picture of the young blind is, no doubt, from M. Dufau's extensive opportunities of observation, the true one. The indisposition which he remarks in them to active exercises is not to be attributed merely to the hesitation and constraint attendant upon their darkness; it must be sought for in physiological considerations. In persons whose blindness is due to a paralysis of the optic nerve, the brain and nervous system generally are often impaired. That superabundant vital energy, therefore, the spontaneous overflowings of which seem to prompt the purposeless gambols of young animals, does not exist in them. The feeble "nerve-force" (whatever it may be) gives but a feeble stimulus from within to muscular action. Again, the influence of *light* upon the nervous system is necessary to its healthy tone, as the experiments of Dr. Edwards in regard to its effects upon animal organisation conclusively show. Tad-

extents, forms, and situations, so as to further his projects in the best manner. . . . Most of the roads over the Peak in Derbyshire have been altered by his directions, particularly those in the vicinity of Buxton. . . . I afterwards made some inquiries respecting a new road he was making. It was really astonishing to hear with what accuracy he described the courses, and the nature of the different soils through which it was conducted. Having mentioned a boggy piece of ground it passed through, he observed that it was the only place he had doubts about, and that he was apprehensive they had, contrary to his directions, been too sparing of their materials. This extraordinary man lived to the advanced age of eighty-five, possessed of his mental faculties to the last, and died in 1802" (Bull's *Sense Denied*, pp. 103-7).

* Dufau, pp. 2, 3.

poles excluded from the light, while they grew in size, did not change into frogs; other tadpoles, subjected to precisely the same treatment in every respect excepting the exclusion of light, went through the proper metamorphosis at the usual time. Dr. Edwards also observes, that those nations among whom the fashion of dress leaves a considerable surface of the body exposed to the action of light, exhibit forms more gracefully rounded and of better muscular development than are to be found elsewhere. Miners, on the other hand, and those who live much in the dark, are generally misshapen, and of "pale and leaden" hue.* *Anhæmia* (want of blood) is a consequence of their mode of living. According to M. Dufau's description, the condition of the blind bears much resemblance to this. He compares their appearance to that of pale etiolated plants which have grown up in the shade. He speaks of their imperfect sanguification, and their awkward attitudes and gestures. He further points out that of the blind those who have some imperfect visual sense are more vivacious and active than those whose darkness is total. Of the latter class, those whose blindness is due to paralysis of the optic nerve, or affection of the brain, are less inclined to movement than those in whom the visual apparatus merely is disordered. These circumstances seem to show that, independently of its effect as the cause of vision, the action of light on the eye is a powerful and healthy stimulus, through the optic nerve, of the entire nervous system, and that its action upon the surface of the body, though less effectual, is real and beneficial. When either of the factors is diminished or impaired,—when the light acts on a feebler organisation, or less light finds access to an organisation of equal vigour,—the result is a diminished nervous force and muscular activity.

While we are speaking of the physical influence of light, we may refer to a question connected with this subject which has been made a matter of controversy among the blind themselves; viz. whether those who are totally destitute of vision have any sense whatever of the presence or absence of the luminous fluid. M. Knie, who has translated into German, with notes of his own, the treatise of M. Dufau, affirms that, "in spite of his state of complete blindness, he has a feeling of the light." M. Rodenbach, who also is blind, affirms, on the other hand, that the blind man whose eye has altogether wasted away can have no sensation except of the degree of heat, moisture, &c., which coincides with the presence of the luminous ray. M. Zeune is of the same opinion. M. Dufau seems to incline to the opposite view. The question was first started by Diderot, who relates the following incident of Saunderson :

* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th edition, art. "Light."

"It is said that, during some astronomical observations which were one day being made in a garden in his presence, the clouds which from time to time hid the disk of the sun from the observers occasioned a change in the action of the rays upon his face, which was sufficiently sensible to him to enable him to mark the moments which were favourable for observations, and the contrary. You may perhaps suppose that some agitation capable of informing him of the presence of light, but not of the presence of objects, occurred in his eyes. I should have thought so too, if it were not certain that Saunderson had lost not only sight, but the organs of sight. Saunderson, therefore, saw by means of his skin."

As clouds would intercept heat as well as light, this instance is not conclusive. M. Dufau relates others; but they do not necessarily show more than that the blind are cognisant of a difference between day and night. This, however, may be due to the change of temperature, and of atmospheric conditions, rather than to any distinct and immediate perception of the luminous fluid itself. Nevertheless, considering that the solar rays which convey heat are different from those which convey light, and that the necessity of the *latter* to healthy organic life, vegetable and animal, is clearly established, it may very well be the case that their action upon the nerves of the skin, of which the effect probably is to quicken and exalt the vital activity, is attended with a peculiar feeling, which, like most vague and obscure sensations, escapes those who have a better clue to the presence of the object from which it proceeds. The physical (as distinguished from visual) sense of the absence of light, in a slackened energy and torpor of the entire organisation, is perhaps expressed in the complaint which Milton transfers from himself to the hero of the *Samson Agonistes*:

"Since light so necessary is to life,
And almost life itself,
. why was the sight
To such a tender ball as the eye confined,
So obvious and so easy to be quenched?
And not, like feeling, through all parts diffused,
That she might look at will through every pore?
Then had I not been thus exiled from light,
To live a life half-dead, a living death,
And buried; but oh, yet more miserable,
Myself my sepulchre, a living tomb!"

From the influence of blindness on the physical constitution generally, we pass to the effects of the absence of vision upon the remaining senses. Its well-known tendency to increase their range and quicken their susceptibility is expressed in the often-quoted lines of Rochester, which tell us,

"That if one sense should be suppressed,
It but retires into the rest;"

from which the inference would be that the perception of colours, which alone is proper to sight, is possible without it. The meaning intended to be conveyed is, however, clear and true,—that the knowledge of outward objects and their laws, which the seeing gain by the examination of one set of their qualities, the blind may acquire as certainly and accurately by attention to another. This part of our subject has been abundantly illustrated by anecdotal writers. It is the most piquant and interesting; and it would be unfair to our readers to omit it, and to confine them entirely to those more abstract and drier topics which have preceded and will follow it. Indeed, the intellectual and moral characteristics of the blind as a class are so intimately connected with, and are to a large extent so clearly the consequence of, the peculiarities of their organisation and sensibility, that some consideration of the latter is essential to the understanding of the former.

Taking the several senses in succession, we begin, for several reasons, with the *Muscular Sense*, or the feelings attending the muscular motions; the claims of which to rank as a sixth sense are now pretty generally recognised by writers on physiology and mental science. The new-born infant, in obedience, it may be probably conjectured, to an impulse from within, to a spontaneous discharge of the nervous force proceeding from its centres in the brain and spinal ganglia to the muscles, moves and tosses his limbs long before he shows any sign of being affected by impressions from without. These movements are attended with certain feelings peculiar to them, often of a very pleasurable kind, as is shown by the delight taken by children in active games, by the young of animals in their gambols, and by men of vigorous health, “muscular Christians” and others, in athletic exercises. To be incapable of this pleasure, to have a distaste for the exertions which procure it, is justly deemed a proof of a disordered or languid organisation. We have seen that this is, as a rule, the case with the blind. The chief physical enjoyments connected with the muscular system are, for them, those of conscious repose, resembling probably the agreeable sensations of rest after moderate fatigue. A slight feeling of fatigue may be considered as their ordinary condition, in regard at least to this part of their nature. Their delight in bodily inaction, or in slow and measured movements, is like that of the weak eye in a shaded light, or its preference of the milder green rays to “the common light of day.” It is easy to see how this state of feeling reacts upon the intellectual character. Rapidity of mere physical motion produces a certain rapidity and intensity of mental action. Many instances of this might be adduced. The student is often compelled to sti-

mulate the sluggish flow of thought by a rapid walk up and down his chamber. Douglas Jerrold is said to have composed in this way. The violent gestures of the popular orator are often quite evidently assumed, in the first instance, to rouse in him the vehemence which they seem to express, and of which they may afterwards become the unconscious expression. Slow movements, on the other hand, have a contrary effect; they calm and soothe rather than stimulate. What is true of them in their action on special occasions, is of course equally true of them as a life-long influence. It is in harmony with these observations that the blind, as a class, are seldom characterised by that rapidity and intensity of mental action, that keenness of penetration, which pierces at once to the very heart of a matter,—that *vivida vis animi* which is the characteristic of the highest genius. Their intellects are in general cautious, calm, deliberative, slow, distinguished rather by soundness than by brilliancy. The force which they apply is accumulative rather than instantaneous. We do not mean that all these qualities are to be attributed exclusively to the single source which we have indicated, or even that all the said qualities are to be found in all blind people. What is asserted is, that the *tendency* of the condition of the muscular sensibility in the blind is to produce the characteristics acknowledged, though with many exceptions and in various degrees, to belong to them as an order. The fact that their attachments are generally of a calm and equable kind, formed on judgment and “right reason,” rather than upon those inexplicable attractions which so often bind others together; the infrequency with which they seem to give way to strong impulses of affection, and a certain want of geniality and expansiveness which has often been noted in them,—may also, no doubt, in part be attributed to the same cause. Vividness of sensation, and clearness of perception, exist always in an inverse ratio; or, as Sir William Hamilton, to whom we believe the first statement of this law of mind is due, expresses it: “Above a certain point, the stronger the sensation, the weaker the perception; and the distincter the perception, the less obtrusive the sensation.” Vision, which is the clearest of our modes of objective perception, is ordinarily attended with scarcely any subjective feeling; taste and smell, which give us hardly any knowledge of objects, appeal forcibly to the passive sensibility. Intense light dazzles the eye, excessive sound deafens the ear; and both prevent clear perception. The feebleness of the muscular sensations in the blind does not therefore by any means imply indistinctness in the corresponding perceptions. These are, among others, the discrimination of degrees in the weight, in the hardness and softness, the elasticity and inelasticity, of objects, as estimated by the resistance they offer to pressure,

and the consequent muscular tension needed to withstand or overcome this resistance. Without, perhaps, being peculiar to this sense, the cognition of space, and its several modes and diversities—that is to say, the magnitude, the distance and direction (which, taken together, gives the position) of objects, their form, &c.—may no doubt be gained by consciousness of differences in the sweep and contraction of the muscular movements. The nicety of discrimination acquired by the blind in regard to these qualities has received many illustrations. Diderot says of the celebrated blind man of Puesseaux, a visit to whom occasioned his *Lettre sur les Aveugles*: “He appreciates with wonderful accuracy the weights of bodies and the capacities of vessels; and he has made of his arms balances so exact, and of his fingers compasses so well tested, that on occasions on which this sort of static is called into play, I would always back our blind man against twenty who see.” The lady patient of Sir Hans Sloane, who became blind, deaf, and dumb, through confluent small-pox, manifested the same fineness of muscular sensibility. “To amuse herself in the mournful and perpetual solitude and darkness to which her disorder had reduced her, she used to work much at her needle; and it is remarkable that her needlework was uncommonly neat and exact. . . . She used also sometimes to write; and her writing was yet more extraordinary than her needlework; it was executed with the same regularity and exactness; the character was very pretty, the lines were all even, and the letters placed at equal distances from each other: but the most astonishing particular of all, with respect to her writing is, that she could by some means discover when a letter had by some mistake been omitted, and would place it over that part of the word where it should have been inserted, with a *caret* under it.”*

This last-mentioned circumstance requires stronger faith or stronger testimony than we possess to convince us of the fact. There is nothing improbable in the other assertions. The blind in general, indeed, are obliged to have recourse to a special apparatus in writing, to prevent the pen from wandering over the paper. But the case of the American girl, Laura Bridgman (blind, deaf, and dumb), as well as that of Sir Hans Sloane's patient, proves that the muscular sense may be brought to a degree of perfection which enables it to dispense with artificial aids. Mr. Dickens, in his *American Notes*, says of Laura Bridgman, who wrote in his presence: “No line was indicated by any contrivance; but she wrote straight and freely.” Laura Bridgman appears to have used one set of muscular movements to watch over, and correct if needful, the set in action. “I

* Encyclopædia Britannica, original edition, art. “Blind.”

observed," says Mr. Dickens, "that she kept her left hand always touching and following up her right, in which of course she held the pen." The left hand in this way discharged for her the functions of superintendence and control, which with the seeing are rendered by the eye. John Metcalf (of whom an account has already been given) must in his surveying expeditions have relied principally upon the same sense. From the direction and degree of inclination of his staff, and the various amounts of resistance it encountered, he drew his inferences as to the physical features and soil of the districts he examined; and he could only know the position of the staff by the experience of the muscular tension and contraction consequent upon its changes as he shifted it about. The great number of blind persons who have been able to practise with success various manual trades and mechanical arts, from shoemaking and plain carpentry up to the making of watches and the manufacture of organs and pianos, and the pupils in almost every blind-school in which useful handicrafts are taught, are all dependent on the same faculty. Only from it can they learn the right mode of handling their tools, and the proper range, direction, and force to be given to their movements.

From the muscular feelings we proceed to the *Sense of Touch*. We assign it the second place among the modes of external perception, not only on account of its close connection with the muscular sensations (which until recently were confounded with it, and are so still by "popular" writers), but because, while any or all of the remaining senses may be lost, we cannot conceive touch absent from a sentient organism. Beings who possess *only* this sense and the muscular feelings have existed, and do exist; but the entire paralysis of the nervous system which would be necessary to destroy tactile feeling could scarcely be distinguished from death. According to Cabanis, whose doctrine on this point is adopted by Sir William Hamilton, and his able disciple and expositor Mr. Mansel, all the commonly-admitted five senses may be resolved into modifications of touch. This sense is diffused over the entire surface of the body, and has its seat in the *papillæ* of the skin. The exquisite sensibility which it habitually attains in the blind, is perhaps the best-known feature of their condition. Many, however, of the phenomena commonly attributed to it really belong to the muscular sense. That the two orders of feeling are distinct, is shown by the fact, that the susceptibility of the former is often very faint, when that of the latter is most keen and discriminating. This is the case with most handicraft labourers, the skin of whose hands is generally hard and callous, while their perceptions of weight, distance, figure, &c., are wonderfully delicate and exact. An

example, if one is needed, is presented by the blind deaf-mute Edward Meyster. Before entering the Blind Asylum at Lausanne, he had been employed in cutting wood, in consequence of which "his fingers never acquired the delicacy of touch of the other pupils."* Nevertheless he excelled all his companions in mechanical skill, and was unusually dextrous in the use of the turning-lathe.

One of the most remarkable instances of the power which this sense may acquire is presented in the history of John Gough, who lost his sight through small-pox when in his third year. He devoted himself with great ardour to the study of natural history, and made considerable progress both in zoology and botany, especially in the latter science. The sensibility of touch in his fingers was sufficient to enable him to recognise, classify, and arrange ordinary plants. "It is mentioned, that towards the end of his life a rare plant was put into his hands, which he very soon called by its name, observing that he had never met with more than one specimen of it, and that was fifty years ago." When he failed to recognise a plant by his fingers, he used to apply it to his lips and tongue; and was generally able in this way to identify it, or refer it to its botanical order. The explanation of this expedient is as follows. The experiments of Weber have shown that the tactile sensibility of the skin varies in different parts. Placing the points of a pair of compasses, blunted with sealing-wax, on the tip of the tongue, he found that the points could be recognised as different at the distance of the twentieth part of an English inch; on the lower surface of the finger, they required to be widened to the tenth part of an inch in order to be distinguished. The tactile discrimination of the tongue is therefore twice as great as that of the finger-ends; an object placed on the former appears twice as great as it does when examined by the fingers. Gough's use of his tongue corresponded strictly to the use of a glass of double magnifying power by the seeing.

"The lips," says Dr. Bull, "are almost as liberally supplied with the nerves of touch as the tips of the fingers [Weber's experiments show that they have greater tactile discrimination than the fingers, and very nearly as great as that of the tongue], and in one instance have done good service to a fellow-sufferer. A poor blind girl, residing in one of the provinces of France, had for many years, as her greatest comfort, perused her embossed Bible with her finger; getting out of health, and becoming partially paralysed, the hand also was affected, and gradually all power of touch was lost. Her agony of mind at her deprivation was great, and in a moment of despair she took up her Bible, bent down her head, and kissed the open leaf, by

* Bull, p. 182.

way, as she supposed, of a last farewell. In the act of doing so, to her great surprise and sudden joy, she felt the letters distinctly with her lips; and from that day this poor child has thus been reading in the Word of God, 'words more precious to her than silver or gold,—even fine gold.' (p. 68.)

The discriminating sensibility of the fingers may, however, be indefinitely improved by practice. It varies very much in individuals. In the interesting account of Mdlle. de Salignac, which forms the postscript of Diderot's *Lettre sur les Aveugles* (and was, indeed, written more than thirty years after), several illustrations of this are given. She could read books in the ordinary type (embossed printing had not then been invented) which were printed on only one side of the page. We have also heard of a blind German who was able to read books printed on the coarse rough paper used in that country. Mdlle. de Salignac's nicety of touch enabled her to play at cards with perfect accuracy. Marks were made on each card, which she was able to distinguish, though they escaped both the eye and touch of those who saw. Dr. Guillié gives an account of a blind Dutchman who could recognise the differences of the figures on cards without this aid; the different textures of the colours, black and red, and the different forms of club and spade, heart and diamond, were palpable to his feeling. In consequence, whenever he dealt he always won. Touching all the cards of the pack as he gave them out, he had virtually seen his opponent's hands. The evidence of this power possessed by some of the blind to discern differences of colours is indeed irresistible: Sir Hans Sloane's patient,* the blind Highland tailor Maguire (mentioned in the *Philosophical Transactions*), who made tartan (parti-coloured) dresses without mistake, Madam von Paradis, the Dutchman alluded to by Leibnitz and the Count of Mansfeldt, of whom Keckermann gives an account, are instances. A more recent example is given by Dr. Bull, on the testimony of a friend.† Two eminent blind men, Dr. Blacklock and M. Ro-

* "She could distinguish the different colours of silk and flowers. . . . A lady who was nearly related to her having an apron on that was embroidered with silk of different colours, asked her, in the manner which has been described, if she could tell what colour it was; and after applying her fingers attentively to the figures of the embroidery, she replied, that it was red, blue, and green, which was true. The same lady having a pink-coloured ribbon on her head, and being willing still further to satisfy her curiosity and her doubts, asked what colour that was. Her cousin, after feeling some time, answered that it was pink. Her answer was yet more astonishing, because it showed not only a power of distinguishing different colours, but different kinds of the same colour; the ribbon was discovered not only to be red, but the red was discovered to be of the pale kind called pink."—*Encyc. Britan.*, article "Blind."

† "Visiting, in 1847, some friends in Gloucestershire, one morning a man about twenty-five, perfectly blind, for the eyes were entirely gone, called to return thanks for his admission into a blind asylum, in which he had been residing for some years

denbach, have declared themselves totally destitute of this power, and sceptical as to its existence. But the fact that most blind people are without it, does not prove that some few do not possess it. It is not pretended that it is any thing but an exceptional faculty. Mr. Johns's remark, that "if the testimony of all the inmates of the largest blind school in Europe is to be believed, they have not the least power of detecting colour," does not prove much. The pupils in the Southwark school, to which he refers, are habitually employed in handicraft trades, the effect of which is to harden and blunt the sensibility of the skin. M. Dufau mentions that the blind have often complained to him, that the sensibility of the finger-ends diminishes as they grow up, and renders reading and similar tasks more difficult to them; and he wisely insists on the necessity of the blind guarding their touch from injury as carefully as the seeing do their eyes.*

Other examples of tactile sensibility in the blind to which we may briefly refer are the power possessed by Dr. Saunderson and Madame Paradis of distinguishing false from genuine Roman medals, which connoisseurs with eyes were unable to do; and the still more astonishing circumstance related of Dr. Moyse, who with his fingers measured the length of a stroke, which was invisible to the eye, made by an etching tool on a plate of steel. Even in the case of the seeing, minute inequalities of

past. In giving an account of what he had learnt there, he mentioned the power of distinguishing colours by the touch, and begged those present to try him. I made him feel my dress, a French merino, and he replied, 'I should say this is a reddish brown,' which it was. The next given him was one of the Rob-Roy tartan; he said, 'This is a material of two colours, red and black.' Another person made him feel her blue gauze veil. 'This is blue, but a very thin dress for the time of the year,' was the reply. The only other trial to which he was put was a printed cotton, which he pronounced to be of various colours. Being asked how he attained this power, he replied, 'A piece of cloth was given me, and its colour named, which I felt till quite familiar with it; then another, which I continued to examine until I could correctly distinguish one from the other; and so on, until I knew all the colours,' and as it seemed to us, even shades of some. The darkest colours appeared to him to have most body in them. He said it required a very sensitive touch, and great patience and perseverance, and that consequently very few attain the power" (Bull, pp. 54, 55).

* M. Rodenbach relates that, while at the Musée des Aveugles in Paris, M. Fournier and he, in order to develop their sense of touch, procured some pumice-stone, with which they rubbed the index-finger, taking care to wear on the finger a covering of fine leather (*un doigtier de peau*). In the *Annual Report of the Boston Institution for 1842* (p. 20), it is said that "an old blind soldier, in order to render the hardened skin of his fingers capable of perceiving characters in relief, applied blisters to them on several occasions." The following passage from M. Dufau's *Souvenirs d'une Aveugle-née* may be added: 'Every substance likely to injure the delicate susceptibility of the epidermis was withdrawn from my habitual contact; and my hands even were usually covered with a fine and supple skin-glove, which preserved their tactile envelope without hindering free movement. This expedient took the place with me of the glasses worn by those who wish to take precautions against the loss or enfeeblement of their sight. Had not nature, in fact, in my case placed my eyes at my finger-ends?' (p. 19.)

surface not cognisable by vision may be discerned by the touch. When the movement of the fingers is called into play, in the recognition of the forms of objects, such as the larger plants, animals, and shells,—still more in ascertaining the dimensions and shapes of rooms, &c.,—the muscular sense aids the merely tactile perceptions.

"The world of the blind," says Mr. Prescott, "is circumscribed by the little circle which they can span with their own arms. All beyond has for them no real existence" (*Essays*, p. 47). This remark is by no means true even of the blind who are confined to touch for their knowledge of the outer world. It is still less so of those who can hear also, as we shall show when we come to speak of the sense of hearing. Blind guides, like Metcalf and Simon Moyser,* and indeed all those who are able without eyes to find their own way from place to place, must, it is obvious, have some perception of objects lying beyond the "little circle which they can span with their own arms." The currents of air as they meet the face report with exactitude the direction, the proximity, the size, and the character of the objects which partially intercept and modify them, enabling the blind traveller to recognise, as he passes them, houses, trees, hedges, gates, posts, bridges, and other objects to be avoided or approached. Dr. Bull, who became blind in mature life, states that this faculty developed itself in him after his blindness to a degree which astonished himself, though far inferior to that in which it exists in those born blind.

"Sight and hearing," says Mr. Morell, "have been termed by some the *objective*, by others the *theoretic*, senses. These names are merely employed to designate the fact, that they stand more closely connected than others do with the intellectual powers; that they fix the mind's attention more directly upon the *object* affecting them; and that they make us less sensible than the rest of the corporeal affection apart from the objective cause."† The associated feelings of touch and movement have surely an equal claim to be ranked among the theoretic and objective sensations. By their means alone, as the cases of Saunderson, of Moyse, and of Gough‡ prove, the entire

* "Simon Moyser, who was born among the alps of Tyrol, lost his sight at two years of age; he devoted himself to so patient an exploration of the surrounding mountain-tops, that he was soon capable of directing thither the steps of all those who visited them. Carried away by a sort of passion for travelling, he pushed his excursions further and further, betook himself to Gratz, and became a messenger, carrying letters and money in these mountainous countries, in which scarcely any other method of communication is possible. In 1818, when he was thirty-three years of age, he perished in a torrent in which several seeing persons had lost their lives before him" (Dufau, p. 97).

† Elements of Psychology, part i. p. 112.

‡ We do not refer to the still more distinguished names of Euler and Huber,

circle of studies which are included in a knowledge of the external universe may be mastered. The mathematical and physico-mathematical sciences, chemistry, and natural history in its various branches, were respectively cultivated by these philosophers, the first of whom lost his sight before he was a year old, and the two last when they were only three years of age. None of them retained the slightest memory of ever having seen, or any conception derived from sight. It is impossible for us to realise the world in which they lived,—a world consisting of harder or softer, rougher or smoother impressions on the skin, and of more or less resistance offered to the muscles. The degree in which the impressions of any sense can be made to serve the purposes of intelligence and knowledge depends on the facility and distinctness with which it is possible to revive the idea of them in the absence of the object which first occasioned them. This it is easy to do in the case of sight—"our eyes see visions when they are shut;" easy also in the case of sounds, though not so easy,—

"Music, when soft voices die,
Vibrates in the memory;"

almost impossible to most persons with regard to muscular or tactile feelings. The idea of an absent weight or touch does not generally body itself forth as a living reality to the imagination, hanging a load on the muscles, or exciting a tingling in the finger-ends. Yet it must do so in the case of the blind, or comparison, the clear discernment of resemblances and differences, and the knowledge which depends upon it, would be impossible. "If," says Diderot, "the memory [of tactile sensations] is very transient in us, if we can scarcely form an idea of the manner in which the man born blind fixes, recalls, and combines the sensations of touch, it is in consequence of our habit, adopted from the eyes, of realising every thing in our imagination by means of colours. It has nevertheless happened to myself, in the agitation of violent passion, to experience a *frissonnement* all over my hand, to feel the impression of bodies which I had touched a long time since revive as vividly as if they had been still present to my grasp, and to perceive very distinctly that the limits of the sensation coincided precisely with those of the absent bodies." "We cannot," he says again, "make the blind man understand how the ima-

because the former, who lost his sight when he was fifty-nine years of age, no doubt made use of conceptions derived from sight in his subsequent mathematical investigations; and because the latter, who became blind at seventeen, availed himself of the eyes of others in his studies of bees, directing their observations, and forming his own conclusions from their reports, and did not employ any of his remaining senses.

gination presents absent objects to us as if they were present; but we may very well recognise in ourselves the faculty of feeling at the end of a finger a body which is no longer there. For this purpose, press the index-finger against the thumb; close your eyes; separate your fingers; examine immediately after this separation what passes within you, and tell me if the sensation does not last some time after the compression has ceased." We have only to suppose this power of recalling a perished, and perpetuating a present sensation of touch, indefinitely extended by cultivation and brought into dependence upon the will, in order to realise the physical conceptions of the blind.

The success of the blind as geometers sufficiently disproves Mr. Johns's preposterous assertion, that they have no idea whatever of space; and even the more qualified doctrine of Sir William Hamilton, that sight is necessary to the prompt and precise perception of the relations of extension, magnitude, and figure. To enter upon this question, however, would involve a discussion of one of the most controverted points of mental philosophy: we will only say, that the confusion which has arisen from unskillful questioning of the blind, and from the difficulty which they naturally experience in translating ideas derived from one sense into the language of another, has been the cause of a mistake of which the theoretic refutation may be found in many treatises on psychology, and to which the labours of Saunderson afford a practical answer like that with which the cynic controverted the proof of the impossibility of motion. Cases of the restoration of the blind to sight are interesting in connection with many controverted points of the theory of vision, but do not fall within the limits of our present subject.

We have seen that the scientific acquirements of the blind are gained principally by touch. To the peculiar conditions under which this sense operates, some of the peculiarities of their intellectual character may be traced. The prevailing *analytic* tendency of their minds, and the slowness, caution, and accuracy of their procedure, are thus explained by M. Dufau:

"In fact, their means of arriving at a knowledge of objects, if more certain, are also, it is evident, less prompt and rapid than our own; only by observing objects with care, by studying them part by part, in short, by analysing them, can they attain to a knowledge of them. To convince oneself of the justice of this distinction, we need only compare the mode in which the blind and the seeing acquire their knowledge of any object; for example, of a plant. The former casts a glance upon it, embraces it as a whole, envelops it with a look, and his task is done; he has a general idea of it, with which he usually contents himself, because it is sufficient to enable him to recognise and to name the object. The blind man, on the contrary, is obliged

to examine, to touch with the utmost care, the stalk, the branches, the leaves; to acquire, in short, a complete and detailed idea of the plant, without which it would be impossible for him to distinguish it from others. Thus it is that necessity makes analysis a habit to him, which retards his acquisition of knowledge, but at the same time renders it more positive and more certain.”*

We come now to the sense of hearing; to which principally, though not exclusively, the blind owe their conception of objects which lie beyond the “narrow circle which they can span with their own arms.”

“Dr. Saunderson, by the reverberation of his tread, could judge with wonderful accuracy as to the character of objects from five to twenty yards’ distance. Thus he was enabled to distinguish a tree from a post at the distance of five yards, a fence from a house at fifteen or twenty yards. The sound of his footfall in a room enabled him to judge of the dimensions and character of the apartment. Having once crossed a threshold, so distinct was his individualisation of every locality, that he would at once know it again, even after the lapse of many years.”†

Dr. Moyse had the same faculty. “A person,” says Dr. Kitto, “who knew him relates, that whenever he entered a room he remained for some time silent. The sound directed his judgment as to the dimensions of the room, and the different voices and number of persons in it. His distinctions in these respects were very accurate; and his memory so retentive, that he was seldom mistaken.”‡

“A young blind man told me one day,” says M. Dufau, “that in his walks . . . he at once perceived a wall, a hedge, a mountain, any obstacle, in short, which might be before him. ‘When I find myself in a vast plain,’ he added, raising his hand to his ear, with a very expressive gesture, ‘it seems to me that I am *à perte d’ouïe*.’ This remarkable expression, imitated from our *à perte de vue* in an analogous situation, enlightened me much as to the importance of this sense to the blind.”§ By means of a light cry, or a gentle tap with the foot, at the entrance of an apartment, the blind are able to tell whether any one is present in it or not, its extent, the nature of, and any alteration in, the furniture.|| “There is now living in the city of York,” says Mr. Johns, “a gentleman of fortune, who, though totally blind, is an expert archer; so expert,” says our informant (who knows him well), “that out of twenty shots with the long-bow, he was far my superior. His sense of hearing was so keen, that when a boy behind the target rang a bell, the blind archer knew pre-

* Dufau, p. 43.

† Kitto, p. 209.

|| Ibid.

‡ Bull, p. 208.

§ Dufau, p. 71.

cisely how to aim the shaft.* Diderot tells a tale of the blind man of Puisaux, who, in anger at one of his brothers, occasioned by some boyish dispute, threw a stone at him with such exact aim, that it struck him in the middle of the forehead, and levelled him with the ground.†

As a practical guide through the dark ways of their life, hearing is more valuable to the blind than touch, though inferior to it as an instrument of scientific research. It is, perhaps, most important to them as the basis of their judgments in regard to character. Their personal prepossessions and prejudices are founded on the tones and cadences of the voice, and are at least not oftener unjust than those which we derive from the general appearance and physiognomy of men. Their judgment of the physical characteristics of a speaker, his age, height, health, &c. are wonderfully exact. "The blind easily recognise hump-backed people" (as M. Rodenbach, himself blind, avers) "by the sound of their voices. He relates that at a *soirée* in Brussels, a blind man succeeded in stating with precision, according to their voices, the ages of all the persons present. His only *mistakes* were with regard to some ladies, who were not displeased at his inexactitude."‡ The ability which the blind possess of recognising a voice once heard after an interval of years, in spite of attempted disguise, is as well attested as any of their peculiar powers.

As a medium of social intercourse, hearing is to the blind much what it is to the seeing; or rather, it is more to the blind than it is to us, since they seek in the tones of the voice that commentary on the bare meaning of the words which we find in the play of features and gesture. But it is most important as being the sole inlet of emotion which they possess. Feelings of solemnity and awe, of grief and joy, of physical pleasure and pain, can only be conveyed to them through the modulation of sound. This is one reason, no doubt, of their passionate attachment to music. Notwithstanding the ingenious distinction of a German philosopher, who, with some show of truth, characterises "sight as the clearest, and hearing as the deepest of the senses," the one appealing to intellectual conviction, the other penetrating to the heart, and more deeply stirring the entire nature,—it is a fact, that the understanding of the blind is far better developed than their emotional nature. They excel in science; but no blind man has ever attained eminence in poetry.§ Blind Harry, Dr. Blacklock, Miss Frances Brown, among English writers, and one or two French and Italian

* Johns, p. 103.

† Diderot, p. 136.

‡ Dufau, p. 69.

§ Poets have become blind, as Milton; but this is very different from a blind man becoming a poet.

authors mentioned by M. Dufau, exhaust the list of the blind-born who have cultivated poetry; but they do not rise above the level of smooth and agreeable versifiers. What is remarkable in them is, that their writings abound in attempted descriptions of visual scenery, made up, often very ingeniously, and with a clever avoidance of the errors to which we should suppose them liable, of epithets and phrases, derived from the works of those who saw, but unmeaning to them. Poetry is in their case strictly, as Aristotle called it, an imitative art. The metaphysical poetry, so popular in our day, which paints human emotions and dwells on the inner life of the soul,—to which we should suppose them, from their introspective, meditative, and self-centered turn of mind, particularly prone,—is quite remote from the spirit of their verse. As little does the “beauty born of murmuring sound” find any echo or expression there. No such effects (we speak of kind, and not of degree) as Tennyson’s bugle-song can be quoted from any blind poet. And yet there is not a line, and only a phrase, in it which the blind man is not as competent as the seeing, or even more competent, vividly to realise:

“Blow, bugle, blow, set the wild echoes flying;
Blow, bugle, answer echoes dying, dying, dying.
O hark, O hear! how thin and clear,
And thinner, clearer, farther going!
O sweet and far, from cliff and scar
The horns of elfland faintly blowing.
Blow, let us hear, the purple glens replying;
Blow, bugle, answer echoes dying, dying, dying.”

The phrase “purple glens” is the only one in these exquisite lines which would be unintelligible to the blind; and yet it is the only one which reminds us of the “poetry” which they are in the habit of writing. “Azure distances,” “yellow corn,” “dewy greens,” &c., are the stock images of blind versifiers. It would appear as if, on the one hand, the merely sensuous feelings (which respond to music), and, on the other, the purely intellectual apprehensions, existed in their full force in the blind, but that the emotions in which thought and feeling blend were but feebly present to them. The dislike (which is said to show itself in many ways among them) of appearing different from the seeing, no doubt leads them to parody the description of “coloured nature” which they find in ordinary works. There is also some kind of mysterious attraction to them, perhaps, in realities from the knowledge of which they are excluded.

It is not necessary to say any thing of the remaining senses, *smell* and *taste*. They do not often present any peculiarities in the merely blind; though the former of them is often marvel-

lously developed in blind and deaf mutes, especially, it would appear, when the reason is somewhat weakened. It seems then to acquire something of the fineness and discrimination which it has in the lower animal races. In speaking of the special senses, we have somewhat anticipated the subject of the intellectual qualities which the absence of sight seems to foster. A remarkable power of concentrated attention, natural in those whose minds are not solicited by the attractions of the multifarious objects of vision, is the fundamental quality of their understanding. To this may be attributed the strength of memory for which as a class they are celebrated. Attention and memory are the two constituents of the faculty of comparison, or the discernment of resemblances and differences, on which all knowledge depends. We have already, in quoting from M. Dufau, shown how the successive apprehension of the several properties and parts of a complex object, alone possible to the sense of touch, favours habits of abstraction and analysis. These are just the qualities needful for success in science, and just the qualities fatal to poetry and imagination, which deal not with constituent elements, but with concrete and living wholes, and which have their source with the intuitive rather than the discursive faculties of the mind.

Of the moral qualities which generally accompany blindness it is less easy to speak with decision. Diderot attributes to them a deficiency in modesty, and also in compassionate feeling. His reasons for the latter deficiency are worth giving:

"Since of all the exterior demonstrations which arouse in us commiseration and the idea of pain, the blind are affected only by the cry of grief, I suspect them, as a general rule, of inhumanity. . . . Do not we ourselves cease to feel compassion when the distance or the smallness of objects produces in us the same effects that the privation of sight does in the blind? so much do our virtues depend on the mode of our sensations, and on the degree in which exterior things affect us. I have no doubt, therefore, that, except for the fear of chastisement, many people would have less pain in killing a man at a distance, which made him appear no larger than a swallow, than they would have in cutting the throat of an ox with their own hands. If we have compassion for a suffering horse, and if we crush an ant without any scruple, is it not the same principle which sways us?"

To this (rather by way of compliment than of accusation) he adds an insinuation of irreligion.

Dr. Guillié expresses himself much to the same effect. He echoes Diderot's charge of want of modesty on the part of the blind; decides that they are very imperfectly acquainted with the emotions which draw us one to another, and decide our affections and attachments; and though he acquits them of atheism,

is unable "altogether to justify them from the reproach of impiety, which, with some foundation, has been urged against them. . . . Conscience, in short," he sums up by saying, "has not the influence over their actions which it has over ours. . . . The moral world does not exist for the blind; . . . he acts as if he alone existed, he refers every thing to himself. . . . Their situation, which compels them to keep on their guard against all mankind, often leads them to rank in the same category their benefactors and their enemies, and, perhaps without intending it, to show themselves ungrateful." Immodesty, inhumanity, selfishness, irreligion, and ingratitude, are the attributes which Dr. Guillié assigns to those whom he elsewhere calls "his poor adopted children" (*ces infortunés, mes enfants adoptifs*). His authority is deservedly so high on every point connected with the blind, that we are glad to find his testimony on this matter contradicted by an observer entitled to even greater deference—M. Dufau, who strenuously combats the injurious estimates of his predecessor in the Institution at Paris. The reserved, self-contained nature of the blind; their undemonstrative character; their aversion to mere sentimental effusion; and want of attention on the observers' part to the very different way in which the same feelings will express themselves in the blind and in the seeing,—have led, according to M. Dufau, to the errors of Diderot and Dr. Guillié. With regard to the first charge against them, the sense of modesty "*passe chez eux de la vue à l'ouïe. . . . Cette chasteté d'oreille exclut en général de leur langage les paroles légères et les équivoques sans décence; il en résulte aussi que des traits qui ne sont que gais pour nous dans quelqu'un de nos meilleurs écrivains, dans nos anciens comiques, par exemple, deviennent inconvenans pour eux; si leur âme est pure, ils n'en rient pas, et restent parfois déconcertés et mal à l'aise*" (p. 20). M. Rodenbach himself, a very distinguished blind man,* pronounces that three-

* "Alexander Rodenbach, born at Roulers (West Flanders) in 1786, lost his sight when he was eleven years of age. He entered the *Musée des Aveugles*, then under the direction of Haüy, and soon became one of his most distinguished pupils. On returning home he gave himself up to profound inquiries into different questions of public interest, which he afterwards discussed in several publications, which attracted to him the attention of his fellow-citizens. A lively opposition to the tendencies impressed on the country by the House of Nassau was formed. M. Rodenbach joined the ranks of the periodical press, in order to give his support to this opposition, and became one of the most active promoters of the revolution from which the Belgian nationality sprang. He was elected a member of Congress in 1830, and has ever since continued to sit in the Chamber of Representatives, where he has distinguished himself on several occasions by the soundness of his views as well as by an animated and ready style of elocution. M. Rodenbach has been elected burgomaster of the commune where he lives, near Roulers. He is member of several academies, Knight of the Order of St. Leopold, and has been decorated with the Iron Cross" (Dufau, *Des Aveugles*, pp. xxiii. xxiv.).

fourths of the blind men whom he has known have felt more strongly than others the need of religious consolations, and have been remarkably alive to religious feeling. The accusations of inhumanity and ingratitude are rebutted by M. Dufau, and the mistake, which has led to their being preferred, pointed out. There is probably this amount of foundation for the charges of Diderot and Dr. Guillié, that the suspicion and timidity which M. Dufau acknowledges to belong very frequently to the blind, and which may be referred to the sense of disadvantage under which they labour in regard to the seeing, do, *so far as they alone operate*, tend to produce the defects which have been too absolutely laid to their charge. And further, an isolated self-centered life is unfavourable to the development of the social qualities. Free *expression* of feeling is needful to the vitality and freshness of feeling. As regards religion, though the logical argument exists in all its force for the blind, the appeal to wonder and awe made by "the two infinities," as Pascal calls them, that surround us, and which are revealed by the telescope and the microscope, is silent for those without "eyes to see." Moreover, the prevailingly *intellectual* character of the blind presents religion to them rather on its dogmatic than on its emotional side. The same circumstance leads them to base their affections on judgment and calm preference rather than on an impulse. So far from "conscience having less effect on their actions than it has on ours," a profound sense of justice and equity is remarked by M. Dufau as a strikingly prominent feature of their characters.

Our exhausted space warns us to bring these remarks to a close. We have freely used the materials presented in the works named at the head of this article, always, we hope, with adequate acknowledgment. We shall be glad if what has been said tends in any way to awaken philanthropic and scientific interest in the condition of that large class (calculated at nearly a million over the entire earth) who journey through this world, like Virgil's travellers "through Pluto's empty mansions and shadowy kingdoms,"

"Obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram

Qualem per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
Est iter in sylvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
Juppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

ART. V.—INTEMPERANCE; ITS CAUSES AND CURES.

Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in Charges delivered to Grand Juries of Birmingham, supported by additional Facts and Arguments (Charge of January 1855). By M. D. Hill. London: J. W. Parker. 1857.

On Liberty. By John Stuart Mill. London: J. W. Parker. 1859.
The Temperance Cyclopædia. Compiled by the Rev. W. Reid. London: Tweedie.

Tweedie's Temperance Almanac for 1860. London: Tweedie.

An Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, with Sequel [Prize Essay]. By Dr. F. R. Lees. London: Tweedie. 1857.

Reports of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages. Alliance Offices, 41 John-Dalton Street, Manchester.

CRUSADING threatens to become a social danger as well as a fashionable folly of the age. Every year increases the amount of spare energy, unabsorbed in the arduous struggles of daily life, which is ready now to devote itself to the service of philanthropy, as eight centuries ago to that of the cross. The field is wide enough for all comers; the enemy mighty enough to tax their powers more severely than Saladin taxed the strength of united Christendom. And in such a warfare we ought to have no cause for aught but hope and satisfaction in seeing the increase of numbers and vigour on the right side. Unfortunately, however, the want of discipline and guidance, and the utter ignorance of the nature and conditions of the contest, too generally displayed by the volunteers, make them not seldom more dangerous to the peace of society at large than to the evils which disturb it, and against which they are enlisted. Their chiefs, competent for nothing better than guerilla command, are wholly unable to wield for good the power bestowed by an unmerited confidence, and lose from vanity the little judgment which enthusiasm had left them. And thus each host of social reformers falls into disgrace and confusion, resembling in its march rather the rabble rout of Peter the Hermit than the disciplined army of the princes of the crusade. The consequence is, that not only is much power wasted, which, wisely turned to account, might have achieved great results, but actual injury and mischief are the lasting monuments of its misguidance: not only is discredit thrown on a good cause by the folly and fanaticism of its adherents, but sober and earnest men, sympathising in the aim, are forced by the method pursued and the means adopted into

resolute opposition, and compelled to strengthen the hands of an enemy they detest as cordially as any. A "holy war," whether against infidels in arms or social evils undermining religion and society, is always liable and likely to be misdirected, and all but certain to become fanatical; and the preacher of a social crusade, were he as able, might prove nearly as mischievous as the Hermit of old. It is this divorce between judgment and benevolence, between discretion and energy, which induces cautious thinkers to look with so much distrust on a great part of the philanthropy which is the boast of the age; which leads to so much bitterness against prudence, science, and moderation, in the harangues of the enthusiast, and to that want of counsel from wiser heads which is so evident in all his practical efforts; and which has done more to hinder social reforms than all the personal passions and class interests enlisted on behalf of existing evils.

In nothing is this so manifest as in the case of what is perhaps our worst national vice and misfortune; in no part of that "war with evil" for which, as Mr. Milnes tell us, we have come forth upon the field of life, is the crusading spirit more ardent and earnest than in the struggle against intemperance: in no direction are the defects and dangers of that spirit more clearly shown. Here, if any where, we might have expected to find common sense and moderation prevalent among reformers; for never was there a case in which extravagance and violence were either more clearly foolish or more certain to defeat their own object. Here was a cause for which a sober and rational advocacy would have commanded the support and active sympathies of millions; against which extravagant pretensions and proposals were sure to array irresistible antagonism. Yet this cause we find to have been so managed by its crusaders, that sane reformers have deserted it in despair, and the field is almost wholly abandoned to a horde of ignorant and mischievous fanatics. And yet the evil is one so terrible, that nothing but utter hopelessness of effecting any good with such allies could have driven earnest well-wishers of their country and their kind to relinquish all effort to amend it; and so notorious, that nothing but the worse than folly of those who wage open war against it could have deprived them—as they are deprived—of the sympathies of society and the countenance of the educated classes.

It is possible to exaggerate the evils even of intemperance; and we all know how certainly reaction or indifference are the effects of detected exaggeration. The sins of the advocates of teetotalism—in no sense of temperance—in this respect have been perfectly enormous. It is astonishing to find statements made by men not wholly devoid of education which carry on their face their own refutation, palpable even to the meanest

capacity and the most limited knowledge. "It is certain that two millions of persons are constantly suffering from police-recognised drunkenness alone," says Dr. F. R. Lees, of whom we shall have more to say. Now, as certainly not one third (or any thing like a third) of the cases of drunkenness which occur are "recognised" by the police, which this writer himself will hardly dispute, it follows that 6,000,000, or *more than half the adult male population of the United Kingdom*, are constantly suffering from drunkenness. We put aside the number of female drunkards, as too trifling to affect the calculation. We must suppose Dr. Lees insensible to the value of such a *reductio ad absurdum*; but few of his readers can be equally obtuse. Another writer of a similar kind, the Rev. S. Sinclair, states that there are 125,000 cases of persons "taken into custody for drunkenness;" and, *as if each case represented a separate drunkard*, he bases on this an estimate which gives six hundred thousand as the number of habitual drunkards!

One of the favourite assertions of this party, put forth with their characteristic precision of statement and looseness of proof, is, that of "pauperism, three-fourths are caused by drink; of crime, three-fourths; of disease, one-half; of insanity, one-third; of suicide, one-third:" and so forth. In the one-page tract in which these monstrous crudities are published, no evidence worth attention is given,—Lord Shaftesbury, whom we would rather trust for any thing than for statistics, being the chief authority. The assertion in regard to disease carries its own refutation: in the first place, because it goes beyond the bounds of oratorical license in its monstrous extravagance; and in the second, because, of all inscrutable things, the *cause* of diseases is about the most undiscoverable. In regard to insanity, their own statistics expose the absurdity of their statement (which is but a modified version of Lord Shaftesbury's). If they and he had read even the *Temperance Cyclopædia*, they would hardly have ventured on it. In regard to pauperism, they are probably nearer the truth; though here again they exaggerate wildly, in blind reliance on the same blind guide. In regard to crime, they seem at first sight to be supported by better authority than either their own or Lord Shaftesbury's. Many of the Judges have spoken in a manner which appears to bear out more or less the statement of the teetotalers. But inquiring into the assertion a little closely, it resolves itself into this: "A large proportion of the crimes brought before the Assize and Sessions Courts were committed either by or on persons drunk, or who had been drinking, or who were in the habit of drinking." Now this is a very different thing from a deliberate statement that, as Mr. Clay and others very rashly assert, nine-tenths of crime are caused

by intoxicating drink. In the first place, crimes committed by drunken persons are always likely to be detected, probably are almost always followed by the arrest of the criminal; consequently the proportion of crimes committed by drunken persons is much greater on the list of convictions than on that of commission, drink ensuring detection nearly as much as it stimulates crime: crimes committed on persons drunk at the time are merely facilitated, not caused, by the drink. Then, the effect is mistaken for the cause: people who lead a vicious life naturally turn to sensual enjoyment as the object and reward of their evil industry, and drink because they are vicious, instead of becoming vicious because they drink. Finally, an enormous proportion of the crimes committed—greater far than the proportion of *convictions*—belongs to the professional or habitual criminals, who, according to the testimony of the police, are not and dare not be a drunken class: so far from being stimulated to their crimes by drink, they are obliged to keep strictly sober when about to commit them, in order to retain the fullest possession of all their faculties. It seems, then, that while drink has something to do, directly or indirectly, with a large proportion of the crimes *prosecuted to conviction*, the proportion even of these cases in which it is the *cause* of crime is much smaller; while its share in the crimes *committed* is probably but trifling in comparison.

It is probably true, however, even after allowance made for falsely-alleged excuses of intoxication, that a large proportion of the *crimes of violence* perpetrated, excepting those of which robbery is the object, are committed by men under the influence of drink. Even of these outrages, nevertheless, the drink is not always the *cause*. The perpetrators generally belong to a class which is drunken because it is degraded and brutal, not degraded and brutal because it is drunken; they would be violent even if they did not drink, and intoxication only aggravates and excites the passions which would be dangerous without any artificial stimulant. In those instances which occur among more respectable classes,—wife-beatings, murders, and brutal assaults by artisans, mechanics, and those still higher in the social scale,—intemperance is, beyond doubt, most often the sole cause. These outrages are horrible enough; and the fact that it causes them is a heavy item in the long roll of charges against this monster evil. But to say that intemperance causes one-half the crimes of violence, which we will admit, is one thing; to lay to this source nine-tenths of all crimes is a very different assertion, and one which we cannot allow to pass unquestioned.

Undoubtedly there is a connection between crime and intemperance; both of cause and effect, and of conjoint derivation from

the same circumstances and the same vices. Besides that portion of crime of which it is the direct and obvious source, drunkenness creates crime by pauperising hundreds, nay thousands, of honest families, reducing them to want and degradation, and driving the children among the offspring of the "perishing and dangerous" classes, recruiting the hordes of our "City Arabs." Intemperance among a large class, where general enough to affect its character as a whole, debases its morals, induces pernicious habits, diminishes the respectability and self-respect of the class, and thereby tends to render it, if not prolific of actual criminals, yet turbulent, disorderly, and comparatively worthless and unprincipled. Idleness, again, is a prolific cause both of intemperance and crime. It is for these reasons, fully as much as from any direct causation, that the two are so generally found in conjunction.*

The Teetotalers, with their usual love of personal and class imputation, have endeavoured to fix upon the "beer-shops" the charge of being in an especial sense nurseries of crime. This is, in fact, exactly reversing cause and effect. Where the criminals and beer-shops are connected, as they frequently are, it is the thieves that create the shops. The receivers and the harbourers of the habitual thief find beer-selling a profitable addition and a convenient cloak to their main business, and adopt it accordingly. But the thieves had their haunts before the beer-shop was allowed, and would have their coffee-houses if beer-shops and public-houses were at an end. The attempt to prove the beer-shop the origin of the thief exaggerates a very old kind of fallacy. "We have heard that Tenterden steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sands; but this is to make Goodwin Sands the cause of Tenterden steeple."

Prostitution, again, is ascribed to intemperance; quite falsely, as we believe. Gross sensualism produces the one as well as the other, and it is not likely that the man or woman who indulges excessively in sensual gratification of one kind, will be very scrupulous about another. Either vice feeds and fosters the habit of mind from which both arise, and thus fosters the other. That prostitution and intemperance aid and support one another, no one who knows human nature will doubt; that either is in any great measure *caused* directly by the other, we cannot think probable. Their frequent conjunction is sufficiently accounted for by their common origin.

* It should be remembered, that about seventy per cent of the *commitments* which annually take place are for "crimes against property without violence"—thefts, and so forth, which are seldom, if ever, committed by drunken or half-drunken persons. It should be remembered, further, that the excuse of intoxication is frequently alleged in other cases without truth, as a means of winning leniency or compassion.

It would not be worth while to notice these exaggerations, but that the subject has been so little studied, except by teetotalers, that their facts and figures are almost the only ones we possess; and it is therefore necessary, before passing to the serious realities of our subject, to clear away the encumbrance of their absurdities and misstatements. There is no need for exaggeration, no need to include one doubtful item in the long list of charges against the monster evil of this country. It is due to truth, to justice, and, not least, to the cause of social improvement, not to weaken by overstatement a case overwhelmingly strong in itself; nor to endorse, even by silence, injurious fallacies and erroneous imputations, which excite irrational violence on the one hand, and stir up passionate resistance and recrimination on the other. The simplest and tamest statement of the facts is sufficient to prove the evil a great and terrible affliction to the country; endeavouring to prove more is likely to end in signal refutation and shame, wholesome enough for the intemperate advocate of "temperance," but disastrous to his cause.

There can be no manner of doubt, except in such minds as that of Dr. Lees, that intemperance has ceased to be a vice of the educated classes. We do not mean that young men of good family do not occasionally get drunk, but that they dare not do so in society, and that excesses of this description are almost confined to the mess-tables of the army, and to the *unacknowledged* haunts of fashionable dissipation. Drunkenness is no longer common even among young men; it is held even by them discreditable in those who have passed the limits of youth, and it is habitual with none but the few with whom it is a monomania as clearly marked and exceptional as any other form of insanity. We do not deny that in all classes there are examples of health ruined, high talents wasted, and fond hopes blighted by intemperate habits; but these examples are rare indeed, certainly far less numerous than the instances of similar ruin effected by other vices, which are yet not sufficiently prevalent to call forth an ostentatious crusade against them. It is with intemperance among the lower ranks of society only that we are called on to deal as with a great national vice, a serious social evil; not because they are more vicious than those above them, but because this one vice is made by circumstances their worst temptation and their most pressing danger. That it is so, is affirmed by the concurrent testimony, less apparently precise, but infinitely more reliable, than calculations on slender statistical data, of men in all walks of life, acquainted in whatever manner with the habits, feelings, temptations, perils, and vices of the working classes. Not one of those who, as employers of

labour, missionaries to the poor, philanthropic enthusiasts, or practical reformers, have been brought frequently and closely into contact with the mass of the labouring population, but tells the same tale. If the money, time, and health which is spent in deleterious indulgence at the public-house were saved for better uses, all our skilled working-men, all above the grade of common labourers, might enjoy wholesome food, respectable houses, comforts for their family, and a chance of rising in the world for themselves. Wherever any trade earned, as is the case with many, wages greatly above the average income of working-class families, the homes of all the workmen in that trade would be improved, their wives better clothed, their children better educated, and the whole family provided with more comforts and enjoyments than their fellows. At present we fear that this is very little the case; that the best-paid classes are little better off than the worst-paid; and that the condition of the wife whose husband is employed in a trade where wages range from 18s. to 28s. a week is often preferable to that of her whose husband's earnings are from 30s. or 35s. to 60s. a week.

Mr. Greg, in his republished Essay *On the Principles of Taxation*, estimates the average income of a *workman's family* at 20s. a-week. It is notorious that there are many trades in which the daily earnings of the *workman himself* range from 5s. or 6s. upwards. We ought, if there were no disturbing element, to find the families supported by these trades better off in every respect than the average of their class. There are some whose condition ought to be as good—whose income is quite as large—as that of many families in the lower grades of the middle class. Comparatively very few, however, enjoy additional comfort in proportion to the larger earnings of the “bread-winner:” and they know, and all acquainted with them know the reason why. A class of workmen in this country earning higher wages than their order at large—excepting *possibly* those cases in which the higher wages arise from the necessity of qualifications implying an unusually high average of general capacity and intelligence—do not live better than their fellows; *they simply drink more*.

We are anxious that this assertion should not be misunderstood. We confine the comparison to *classes* or *trades*, believing it not to hold good of *individuals*. On the contrary, we have reason to think that, as between man and man in the same shop, the better-paid worker is generally the more sober and respectable man. There are exceptions to this, of course, especially in particular trades, where the better workman, being liable to overwork of an exhausting kind, and other unhealthy conditions, becomes more intemperate than his fellows. But what

is the exception between man and man, is, we are afraid, the rule between class and class. Almost all the trades in which wages are peculiarly high are notorious for drunkenness. Miners, cutlers, colliers, shipwrights—even, we are afraid, engineers and printers, whose high earnings are the meed of a special education and peculiar skill—are all disgraced, as classes, by intemperance almost in proportion to their prosperity.

Miners and colliers are, as a class, notorious for habits of excess and riot. That their occupation is an unpleasant one, is undeniable; dangerous also, to some extent, but not to that degree that should make those who follow it desperate and reckless; scarcely more hazardous than many occupations which might be named, which do not seem to addict those who follow them to similar intemperance. We can scarcely doubt that the chief cause of the excessive drunkenness among miners must be sought in the unusually high wages received by a class in no respect above the average level of refinement or intelligence; whose ideas of comfort and standard of living are not higher than those of their order generally, and who consequently spend the excess of their wages above the average—if not more than this amount—in the only luxury of which they, in common with the generality of working-men, have a keen appreciation. The men employed in the potteries of the midland districts, like their mining neighbours, are drunken to an alarming extent. In the whole of these districts—collieries, mines, and potteries—we are informed that many a wife finds it hardly possible to extort from her well-paid husband sufficient money for household necessities. Too often her only means of providing food for herself and her children, is by pawning during the week the Sunday clothes, and divers articles of household furniture, which her husband cannot refuse to redeem on Saturday night; thus spending beforehand the money which would otherwise be entirely consumed in drink. Any stronger evidence of the mischiefs worked by intemperance could hardly be required than this picture of an English home;—the husband working four days and a half or five days in the week, and drinking during the remainder; the wife carrying his and her best clothing each week to the pawnbrokers to raise money for food, while he is lavishing money on drink! This, be it remembered, is the picture not of one home, but of thousands; these are the habits, not of a few profligates, despised among their fellows, but of a numerous and important class of operatives; of a proportion, at least, of that class so considerable as to impart its tone, and bestow its character, on the whole.

Printers are a highly paid class of labourers, and, from the nature of their occupation, require and possess an amount of

knowledge and intelligence far above those of the working-classes generally. Journeymen on bookwork, in an ordinary printing-office, will earn from 30s. to 40s. a-week, and often much more. Theirs is not a laborious or unhealthy employment; and their general education is such, that we should expect to find their habits far superior to those of ordinary workmen. We fear, however, that in point of fact drunkenness among them is above, rather than below, the average; the more so as a good compositor or reader, even though a drunken man, may hope to retain his place longer than in most trades, from the difficulty of finding a successor. Newspaper printers are still worse, almost in proportion to the greater amount of their wages. Night-work is said to create a craving for drink. It would probably be more correct to say that it increases the temptation to drink; it certainly keeps men away from their homes at unusual hours, reverses the wholesome order of nature, and is no encouragement to regularity of habits. Printers employed on a daily paper earn from 10s. a-night upwards; the average of their wages being, it is said, as much as three pounds a-week. On this sum the temperate among them, of course, are able to keep comfortable dwellings, live well, and dress themselves and families well. Sometimes they take large houses in good situations, and let a portion of them; being thus enabled to live in a respectable street and to make a good appearance. But by far too large a proportion of newspaper compositors are habitual drunkards; drunk not only on Saturday night and Sunday, after the fashion of their compeers in other trades, but daily by the time that the paper is made up,—going home in a state of unmistakable intoxication at three or four in the morning. At paytime their wives come round the doors of the office to coax or extort from their husbands their share of the week's earnings, knowing but too well that this is the only time at which they have a chance of getting any thing at all. The publicans of the neighbourhood, we need hardly say, give every facility to these valuable customers. The beer-can and the spirit-bottle make the round of the offices regularly every night, and give every opportunity for excess to the weary worker at an unwholesome hour and in a gas-heated atmosphere. In one case, we are told, a publican—living in the neighbourhood of the chief daily papers—secures himself against any backsliding consideration for wife and children on his customers' part, by selling, on pay-nights, tickets available for liquor during the rest of the week; anticipating thus the watchfulness of the mother who comes to secure some portion of the week's earnings to feed and clothe her children. What must be the demoralisation of a class among whom such things are usual! It did not

surprise us, after this, to hear from one who knew them well, that "the behaviour and conversation that goes on in the printing-office of a daily journal is disgusting to witness." This is the work of intemperance among the best-paid and most intelligent class of operatives in the country; a class who might live in perfect comfort with wife and family, and yet save in ten years enough to set them up in business on their own account,—save between twenty-five and fifty a very comfortable independence for the rest of their lives. What the homes of these inebriates might be, we see in seeing what these of their sober companions are; what they too generally are, we will not closely inquire.

Perhaps the most instructive case in point is that of the Australian gold-diggers. The first adventurers at Bendigo and Ballarat were hard-working, uneducated men, men of the working-class, in fact, neither better nor worse than their brethren at home. They got their money hardly, at the cost of much labour and privation. When they had made a sum on which they might have lived comfortably in "the old country" for the rest of their lives, they came to Melbourne, launched out into the grossest extravagance, and got rid of all their wealth in a few weeks, during which period they were almost incessantly drunk. One digger hired a Clarence, and bought India shawls for his wife or companion; another treated a whole roomful of company to champagne at ten guineas a dozen. Yet all the time they were living in dwellings less comfortable than those of an English factory hand; houses, or rather cabins, separated from one another only by curtains of sized cloth, with floors laid "on the hencoop principle," built in streets that were almost impassable to women at all times, and to men in wet weather. These people had no better notion of the value of wealth than its power of procuring the means of ostentation and sensual pleasure. Comfort they never knew, and did not desire; but they could appreciate, and after a clumsy fashion imitate, the luxuries of certain kinds which they had seen enjoyed by the wealthy at home. India shawls for their fair companions, brandy and champagne for themselves,—these were the objects for which wealth was valuable to them; and wealth that might have ensured them a life of comfort was squandered to procure a few weeks of riotous luxury. They caricatured, but did not depart from, the habits which distinguished them in the country they had left; where high wages, instead of bringing permanent comfort, brought them the means to enjoy a luxurious dinner on Sunday, and an extra debauch at the public-house.

Putting aside, then, all clumsy exaggeration, disregarding the rhetoric of fanaticism, and forbearing to enter on the difficult attempt to calculate in figures the calamities which no

figures can enable us to realise, there is evidence overwhelming and indubitable that intemperance is emphatically the curse of our country—that it does more harm, and destroys more good, than any other plague with which England has been afflicted by the visitation of God or the sin and folly of man. We know that it is the cause of very much positive crime and misery, of the extent of which we may form some idea. But how much good it has prevented is a matter beyond the reach of calculation. It is probably one of the chief reasons which make the working-men of England, as a class, the least thrifty and the most improvident in the civilised world. It is through intemperance that Englishmen save less out of twenty shillings than Frenchmen out of twelve francs a week. It is the public-house which makes the workman's home uncomfortable and often even squalid, despite wages which in any other European country would be thought extravagant. It is the love of drink which prevents saving for old age, and gradual accumulation of comforts and of capital, from becoming common among working-men. It is the habit of drunkenness which prevents workmen in highly-paid trades from taking rank with the middle classes both in social position and in their standard of living. It is this which makes the workman-capitalist, the artisan who possesses his cottage and land in fee simple, or has somewhere invested his 50*l.* or 100*l.* of savings, a rare phenomenon ; a man distinguished by employers and stared at by his fellows. It is this, therefore, which is the chief cause of one of the worst social perplexities of our age,—the entire and lifelong distinction between employers and employed, the want of any connecting class between capitalist and labourer, partaking the interest of each. There are trades in which wages are so ample and labourers so educated, that but for this cause “the *status* of a permanent journeyman working for hire,” which has so little tendency to promote good feeling between class and class, would be almost as unusual as in the middle ages. If printers were temperate and saving, for instance, how few among them but might aspire to become masters before middle age ! In fact, if intemperance were to die away among us, the condition of the class of artisans would, by causes already operating in many individual cases, be materially altered ; there would be a *continual movement upwards* among them ; and instead of the rise of a workman into a higher class attracting notice and remark, it would be the natural and usual destiny of intelligent and resolute men :—and intelligence and resolution would be less rare among workmen than they now are. In the ill-paid trades, as that of the tailors for instance, at present notoriously and hopelessly intemperate, the effect of such a change would be nearly

as apparent. It would diminish their slavery to middlemen and employers of a low grade, and it would facilitate all endeavours to improve their condition in a degree almost incalculable. By all that might be done, if all men ceased to be intemperate, we are enabled to conceive some inadequate notion of all that is prevented by the agency, solely or chiefly, of excessive drinking.

Reasonable men, not possessed with the *rabies* of teetotal fanaticism, have estimated the cost of the liquors consumed in the United Kingdom at 60,000,000*l.* We will accept this estimate as not extravagant; and will suppose, not unfairly, that one-third of that sum represents the amount paid for the quantity worse than wasted *in excess*, in that drinking which does perceptible harm to the tippler. This will give us 20,000,000*l.* as the sum lost to the nation by excessive drinking. But this money is not all lost—a considerable portion being received directly or indirectly by the Exchequer, which must be procured in some other way if not in this. Let us take this sum at 5,000,000*l.*;* then the country, almost entirely the working-class, spends yearly 15,000,000*l.* in a way worse than flinging that amount of property into the sea. Thus the working-classes waste in drink, not in wholesome or harmless, but excessive and deleterious indulgence, the annual subsistence of some 200,000 families of their own class. Worse, they waste every year a sum which, if capitalised, would provide every year fresh employment for at least half that number of families, with all aids and materials of labour. With the sum thus consumed in self-injury, they might set on foot every year 200 *new* establishments requiring a capital of 75,000*l.* each; might form companies in every town of any size in the kingdom, and become employers and self-employers on any scale they pleased. Those who remember what we have written before now in advocacy of such institutions, will understand how deeply we regret the annual loss of opportunities so magnificent. Those who have seen the working of such institutions, and their effect on the happiness of their members, and their educational influence, will fully share our feelings. And the working classes themselves, if this view of their loss were put before them, if they could be made to understand that if they are not able to make within their own lifetime a revolution in their own condition, to choose between employment from a master and self-employment by coöperation, to secure for themselves every advantage that capital possesses, it is because they will not give up, *not* their pipe and their glass of ale, but the “drop too much,” the “cup that inebriates and cheers them not,”—would be found to appre-

* The whole revenue derived from spirit-duties, both Customs and Excise, is about 11,000,000*l.* annually.

ciate this argument in favour of temperance as strongly as any other. The power of creating every year 200 such stores, corn-mills, coöperative factories, as exist at Rochdale, would be the power in a dozen years to make England a home that no man would leave for Australian diggings or American backwoods.

Our readers will have anticipated from what we have already said, that we are in no sense advocates of compulsory abstinence ; that we have neither sympathy nor respect for a body like that which, under the name of the United Kingdom Alliance, has been set on foot by the disappointed teetotalers to suppress by legislative power the sale of all "alcoholic beverages." We cannot too strongly express our dissent from the proposals, or our disapproval of the conduct and demeanour, of that association. Having imposed on ourselves the duty of studying their publications, it is only just that we should give utterance to the conviction forced upon us, that, with very few exceptions, all their manifestoes and arguments are disgraceful to their character and discreditable to their sense. Their logic—if it may be so dignified—is feeble beyond comparison, their statements unreliable, their arguments too generally a tissue of libellous imputations ; their language is unworthy of Christians, and would be impossible to gentlemen. We must single out for especial reprobation their chief text-book—the Prize Essay of Dr. Lees—which transcends all teetotal literature we have yet seen in incoherency of thought and violence of language. His controversy with Mr. Gough, by the way, is proof that the habit of insult and imputation is scarcely a safe one, even for a Maine-Law advocate, a man wont to vituperate his enemies being unable to school his pen to sobriety of abuse in quarrelling with an ally. It does no credit to the Alliance that such a man is about the most capable literary supporter they have found. But, to do him justice, the chief difference between him and his associates is in his greater fluency of scolding ; the temper and disposition of all being pretty much alike. Great brewers, like Messrs. Bass, Barclay, and others,—including men like Sir F. Buxton and Mr. R. Hanbury,—“have already built up their fortunes out of blasphemy and beggary.” “Men of station and conductors of the public press wickedly endeavour to lessen the odium which attaches to the offence of drunkenness.” “*Ladies* are not unfrequently found among the victims of the fatal appetite engendered of wine. Eau-de-Cologne is sold *in gallons* to fashionable women—not *for* a scent, but to disguise one.” In reply to Mr. Adderley, who “could not see” the justice of prohibition, Dr. Lees insinuates, “there are many things that people cannot see, *especially after dinner and wine.*” The publican is “a chartered libertine,” a “drunkard-maker,” “poison-vendor,” “traf-

ficker;" the last being a nickname which seems, in the mouth of Dr. Lees, to convey some hidden sting, but in which we can see nothing but a vulgar impertinence. But when the *Saturday Review* is called a "despicable quibbler," and Mr. G. H. Lewes "a Timon, who triumphs over shame;" "a gay, deluding, philosophic knave,"—how can poor Boniface expect milder or more discriminating treatment? In one word, the Essay is a disgrace even to the Alliance; and it is painful to read on its cover the signature of such a man as the Recorder of Birmingham, affixed to a commendation of this congeries of falsehood and vulgarity. It is the authorised publication of such works, and the employment of advocates whose platform oratory is of the same stamp, which induces men of sober and reflective spirit to regard with fear and disgust the whole brood of modern "temperance" agitators.

We fear that the Maine-Law party of America are as bad as their imitators in England. The following extract from a speech of the Hon. Amasa Walker, published in England under the authority of the Alliance, is worthy of Dr. Lees himself:

"What has the Maine Law accomplished? It has branded the seller of liquid poisons, under the form of intoxicating drinks, as a *criminal*. It has made his calling *infamous*; it has placed him in the same category with *thieves* and *robbers*, and doomed him to imprisonment in the same cells as all other *felons*."

For malignity, vituperation, and implied falsehood, it would be difficult to produce any thing surpassing this.

The violence of the Alliance is in some degree explained, if not excused, by the fact that it consists mainly of the defeated and dispirited relics of a party that has been degraded by its own folly and virulence from a position of public honour and usefulness to one of contempt and ridicule. What teetotalism was in the days of Father Mathew our readers have not forgotten; what it is now, the documents of the Alliance will convince any one who reads them. The Total Abstinence movement failed. Reclaimed drunkards returned to drinking, made worse by the consciousness of a vow solemnly taken, and broken in a moment of weakness—the little self-respect they had left being utterly and hopelessly gone. Pledged abstainers, repenting of a foolish vow hastily made,—foolish, we mean, in those who did not feel that they *could not* be temperate,—and finding no substitute provided for the public-house, retracted their promise, broke the faith given in an hour of unreasoning enthusiasm, and again sought good cheer and good company in the alehouse-parlour; they, too, somewhat the less safe for the doubtings of conscience in regard to the obligation they had cast aside. The result might have been foretold; nay, it *was*

foretold eighteen hundred years before. The unclean spirit *did* return to the house that he had left, *did* find it empty, swept, and garnished. And if "the last state of that man was worse than the first," it was the fault of those whose only notion of moral reform seemed to consist in personal abuse and partisan pledges. The best of the teetotalers retired in sorrow and disappointment; sadder, and, we hope, wiser men. Perhaps it occurred to them that a little less denunciation and invective, a little more attraction and substitution—somewhat less abuse, and somewhat more practical measures—might have achieved their purpose better. But they had never been the controlling spirits of the party, whose real leaders are and always were the most violent and fanatical declaimers among them. These, in the characteristic manner of baffled demagogues, changed the nature, and perverted the object, of the movement. Failing to make men temperate by harangues and pledges, they turned their energies to the somewhat easier object of making them teetotalers by force. And with this view their Alliance was concocted; and a measure, based on that of Maine, put forward as their suggestion for the regeneration of society.*

The intention of the Alliance, as set forth by themselves, is merely to prevent the public sale of intoxicating liquors. They would allow the people to drink, if they can get drink without paying for it. They would allow the mechanic or day-labourer to brew his own beer, or the gentleman to import his own wine, and drink it at home. But they would "destroy the traffic;" forbid the sale of that of which they dare not as yet propose to forbid the use. No party of gentlemen shall go to dine at Rich-

* Mr. George Lucas, an advocate of the Alliance, reports the following instance—one among scores—of teetotal failures. "I have here an abstract of the working of the Leeds Temperance Society from its origin to 1851. I find in 1837 there were in connection with it 14 branches, 29 weekly meeting-places, 118 speakers on the plan, a Temperance periodical issued, and a regular system of visiting established. Now, 13 of these branch societies have died out at one time or another, and I think now only four of them have an existence; while only one of them has made vital progress. The 29 meetings have been reduced to three. No speakers' plan exists, no system of visiting, no publication is issued. During the whole of the existence of this society, there has been a zealous and able committee, near 4000*l.* expended, the best advocates in the world commanded; but, in spite of all, these reverses have been endured; and none so much deplore it as the noble men who have laboured to promote the cause. Take now a few facts respecting Woodhouse Society, the one with whose history I am most familiar. It was established nineteen years ago, had an active committee, every means that ingenuity could devise to promote its success was employed during a space of ten years, when the committee took a solemn review, and were entirely discouraged. They had got the people with them; but they had gone back again, and could scarcely tell from whence their committee could be sustained. This was their condition after ten years of earnest and sacrificial industry had been devoted to the cause; and I am satisfied, so far as I have ascertained the facts relating to Gateshead and the Temperance Societies in general, that this is a summary of their history in this kingdom."

mond or Greenwich ; or if they do, they must dine as teetotalers, and drink healths in lemonade or sparkling soda-water. Farmers and artisans shall no longer meet on Saturday evenings in the alehouse-parlour for their "crack o'er a glass"—the only social gatherings of the working-man. Nay, it shall not be lawful to keep open even a wholesale shop for the sale of wine or beer or spirits ; there shall be no means of procuring them but by home-making, or direct importation from abroad by each individual who desires them. What this would amount to we can all understand ; and after having made such proposals, it is as childish as it is dishonest on the part of the Alliance to tell us that "they do not attempt to interfere with drinking, only with the traffic in drink." Why, their object in destroying the traffic is simply to render drink unattainable to ninety-five in a hundred of the people. It is better to speak out at once the truth, which they are continually betraying in such passages as this, and others yet more decisive. "It is not the public-house with which we war ; it is not the publican to whom we object ; it is not even the company we find there that is necessarily objectionable : it is that which vitiates the calling of the taverner, and corrupts his company ; which makes alike the trade, the trader, and the tippler objectionable to the pure and good :—*it is the use of the specific drink !*"*

The real purpose peeps out a little farther still in the following, from one of the monthly papers of the Alliance : "Absolute safety for the individual can be found only in *absolute abstinence* from that which does, in an awful number of instances, produce the drink-appetite, and *may* do so in any one. Sound legislation with regard to intemperance must be based on a recognition of this truth." What this means, if not that legislation should enforce "absolute abstinence," it would be difficult to say. Indeed, it is strange that any one should doubt that the purpose of the movement is the total prevention of the use of wine, beer, spirits of whatever kind ; and that the prohibition of importation would be enforced against the higher classes, if ever by their concurrence the prohibition of purchase at home were enforced against the lower.

That a scheme so outrageous should find supporters, should be ventilated at public meetings and in periodical tracts, and even have two insignificant organs in the weekly press, would be impossible but for that crusading spirit of which we have spoken. It has, indeed, very few creditable friends even among that class. But, having already said enough of the general character of the agitation, we prefer for the future to confine ourselves as far as possible to the arguments of these few, and

* Dr. Lees' Prize Essay, p. 41 ; the italics are in the original.

in exposing what we consider the faults and fallacies of the prohibitive scheme, to apply ourselves to the reasonings and views of those who are with the Alliance, but not of it ; confident that if Mr. Newman and Mr. M. D. Hill fail to make out their case, their arguments will not be strengthened by the aid of Dr. Lees, Mr. Pope, Mr. Dow, Mr. Dawson Burns, and the rest, whose names are appended to the class of tracts and essays we have described.

Mr. Newman, not having made the subject his especial study, has abstained, with rare conscientiousness, from entering warmly into the advocacy of the "Maine Law." His views must be sought in two letters addressed to the Editor of the *Reasoner*, in both of which his object was to vindicate rather the justice than the policy of such an enactment. In these he first defined his position, which differs *toto cælo* from that assumed by the professed apologists of the Alliance. "We would prohibit," he says, "*not the sale, but the traffic*;" and he expresses his opinion that a salaried agent should be appointed to sell alcoholic liquors to all who might demand them, but should be prohibited from gaining a penny by the traffic. Passing over the probable quality of goods in which the vendor had no interest, we have simply to note that this plan merely proposes to do somewhat more effectually what is already done by the present law, namely, to check the encouragement of intoxication by the vendor of spirits. But to do this, not thoroughly, but a little more effectively than is done at present, it would inflict immense inconvenience on fifty sober people for the benefit of five drunkards, — a fault which seems to us sufficient to counterbalance all the good effect that could be anticipated from it. The Alliance propose something very different from this; and it is as an advocate of the principles of the Alliance, rather than as an independent adviser, that we have to deal with Mr. Newman. They propose to appoint such an agent as Mr. Newman describes, with instructions, left in blank in their "draft of a bill," but filled up sufficiently by their speakers. They would allow him to sell only for scientific, manufacturing, or medical purposes. Nay, we rather think that, in reliance on a few unknown physicians, and on Dr. A. Combe, together with some hesitating theories of Dr. Carpenter's, they would prohibit spirits, wine, and beer even as medicine. This proposal Mr. Newman apparently sees to be absurd ; but if we understand him rightly, he defends the principle on which it rests. Treating the authority of the State over its subjects avowedly on the same footing as that of a general over his army, he maintained—in answer to an assertion, in the *Reasoner*, that the Maine Law was "a crime"—the right of the state to prohibit the *use* of intoxicating liquors.

He evidently conceives of the State and its functions in the true classical spirit, which ascribes to it a jurisdiction little less than universal and absolute over thought and action. His adversary took shelter under the authority of Mr. Mill, who has stated the contrary doctrine in the clearest and broadest terms :

"The organ of the Alliance, who would 'deeply deplore the recognition of any principle which could be wrested to justify bigotry and persecution,' undertakes to point out the 'broad and impassable barrier' which divides such principles from those of the association. 'All matters relating to thought, opinion, conscience, appear to me,' he says, 'to be without the sphere of legislation ; all pertaining to social act, habit, relation, subject only to a discretionary power vested in the state itself, and not in the individual, to be within it.' No mention is made of a third class, different from either of these—viz. acts and habits which are not social, but individual ; although it is to this class surely that the act of drinking fermented liquors belongs. Selling fermented liquors, however, is trading ; and trading is a social act. But the infringement complained of is not on the liberty of the seller, but on that of the buyer and consumer ; since the state might just as well forbid him to drink wine, as purposely make it impossible for him to obtain it. The secretary, however, says, 'I claim, as a citizen, a right to legislate whenever my social rights are invaded by the social act of another.' And now for the definition of these 'social rights.' 'If any thing invades my social rights, certainly the traffic in strong drink does. It destroys my primary right of security, by constantly creating and stimulating social disorder. It invades my right of equality, by deriving a profit from the creation of a misery I am taxed to support. It impedes my right to free moral and intellectual development, by surrounding my path with dangers, and by weakening and demoralising society, from which I have a right to claim mutual aid and intercourse.' A theory of 'social rights,' the like of which probably never before found its way into distinct language—being nothing short of this, that it is the absolute social right of every individual that every other individual shall act in every respect exactly as he ought ; that whosoever fails thereof in the smallest particular, violates my social right, and entitles me to demand from the legislature the removal of the grievance. So monstrous a principle is far more dangerous than any single interference with liberty ; there is no violation of liberty which it would not justify ; it acknowledges no right to any freedom whatever, except perhaps to that of holding opinions in secret, without ever disclosing them : for the moment an opinion, which I consider noxious, passes any one's lips, it invades all the social 'rights' attributed to me by the Alliance. The doctrine ascribes to all mankind a vested interest in each other's moral, intellectual, and even physical perfection, to be defined by each claimant according to his own standard."*

* The "permissive law" last put forth by the Alliance, which would enable a certain majority of the ratepayers in any district to put down the sale of liquor

Without expressing absolute concurrence in Mr. Mill's view, we are bound to say that we consider it far preferable to that held by Mr. Newman. The notion that it is the right and duty of the State to suppress whatever it regards as dangerous to public health or happiness, although it may be the mere external occasion of social evil rather than its cause, is suited apparently to America, as it was suited to Rome and Sparta ; the modern and the ancient republics alike holding personal liberty in but little esteem. But it is wholly contrary to those ideas of freedom which are essentially English, and which have made England, at this moment, the only country in the world in which individual liberty of action is practically recognised as the most valuable of human possessions.

We are sorry to find Mr. Hill echoing, in a speech on behalf of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, though but incidentally, one of the most palpably absurd of the many puerilities of the Alliance—the statement that the law, as it now stands, “encourages the traffic in drink.” Taxation of the article sold, and restriction, at the discretion of the magistrates, on the right of sale, is *not* encouragement, is the very reverse of encouragement. Yet Mr. Hill talks as if taxes and limitations were bounties and facilities :

“Amongst the most fearful and irresistible (temptations) which beset them, were the 1500 public-houses (*cheers*), the 308 taverns, the 321 gin-shops, the 871 beer-houses—the *authorised temptations offered by the legislature to crime* (*Renewed cheers*). He spoke in the presence of members of both houses of parliament, and he affirmed that these fifteen hundred dens of temptation, which these great men suffered to be opened, lest the criminal who persevered in his reformation should retire to some quarter of the town to escape temptation, were the main sources of crime. They suffered any street and any alley to contain one or other of these plague-spots. Whatever door was shut against the criminal, the door of the public-house was always open. Whatever guilt he might be convicted of, so long as he had the smallest of her Majesty's coins in his possession, *the legislature furnished him with temptations*, which would cast him back again into vicious habits.”

It is melancholy to find such a man condescending to speak in such a manner. The legislature has nothing to do with the temptations in question. Left to itself, the trade in drink would, like any other trade, work its own way ; would certainly be larger than at present. So far from favouring, the law has forced it to yield several millions of revenue to the Exchequer, and has

within that district, differs no whit in principle from the absolute Maine Law, is more irrational and unconstitutional, and would lead to worse consequences. Mr. Mill's condemnation applies—as the cooler heads among the Alliance see—just as strongly to the one law as to the other.

placed hampering restrictions on its exercise. To accuse the legislature, then, of "offering temptations to crime," is to make a charge against it not only untrue, but the very opposite of the truth; and so fatal a misconception of the case shakes at the outset our faith in Mr. Hill's judgment upon this subject.

His argument in favour of a prohibitory law,—for it is evident from many passages that he contemplates a prohibition as entire as that of the Alliance,—rests on the same basis as theirs, and may be summed up very briefly indeed. "A fearful amount of evil is the result of intemperance. Nothing but the impossibility of obtaining liquor will stop intemperance. The moderate use of liquor produces very little pleasure or benefit, and therefore its suppression will cause little mischief. Therefore a 'Maine Law' would be advantageous. *The majority of a nation have a right to do what they please.* Therefore, when the great majority of Englishmen are brought to desire it, it would be right and wise to pass a Maine Law."

The "right divine" of the majority is a tacit assumption of all partisans of the Maine Law. In fact, only on this theory—which England has never recognised; or on that of a paternal government, which we have long since outgrown—would it be possible to defend the prohibitory law. Mr. Hill and Mr. Newman, the only two prohibitionists capable of logical reasoning, both tacitly recognise this. Mr. Newman speaks of the State, its duties and its authority, in a manner which belongs to the latter theory. Mr. Hill (*Repression of Crime*, p. 403) consciously or unconsciously assumes the former. It appears to us, that if any imaginable government has a right to pass such a law, then all governments have a right to pass it; the policy of doing so is another matter. We are certain that a majority, however great, has no right—*quâ majority*—to enforce its own will, which does not equally belong to all lawful supreme authority, in whatever manner constituted.

Passing from the question of right to that of policy, we must dispute each successive step of the Alliance argument as endorsed by Mr. Hill. We believe, for reasons already given, that intemperance is not the cause of much of the evil which he especially charges upon it. We are sure that the moderate use of wine and beer is productive of great pleasure, promotes social comfort, and adds to the enjoyment, and probably the health, of those classes which are capable of moderation, in no small degree. Its loss would be a grievance; its forcible removal a manifest injustice, seriously mulcting the innocent for the benefit of the guilty; depriving the temperate of a wholesome and harmless pleasure, in order to secure the intemperate against the consequence of their own folly and vice. And legal prohibition would

be in itself productive of great practical mischiefs. It is a great fault in any law when it puts the law-breaker even apparently in the right. It is a great fault when it works so as to keep up a constant war between informers and offenders, and so as to make the former in most cases by far the more odious of the two. It is a great fault when it creates a new crime of a kind sure to be frequently committed. Besides its other defects, a prohibitive law against the sale of liquors has all these vices. It makes the lawbreaker appear in the light of a useful neighbour, giving people an enjoyment which they feel to be their right; and thus demoralises the people by enlisting their sympathies against the law. This evil may be lightly esteemed in America; in England, where respect for law is now about as powerful as any other national sentiment, it would be a grave calamity. It would give us a spectacle every week, in our police-courts, of half-a-dozen men—one or two of them popular with all their acquaintance—tried at the instance of informers for doing what would seem an act of good-nature; and in nine cases out of ten, the offence being that of “selling a glass of beer to A. B.,” the law would be laughed at and despised, and the convicted offender punished and pitied.

Finally, crime would be largely increased by the new crime of drink-selling. This Dr. Lees cannot understand, and sneers with characteristic self-complacency at those who told him of it. He compares it with the “increase of crime” by a law which should for the first time, in his own phrase, “make killing murder.” Here we see the incapacity which arises from a satisfied half-comprehension of facts and principles,—incapacity to distinguish between the *malum in se* and the *malum prohibitum*. Murder is guilty, whatever the law may call it; drink-selling is *not*, and the law which makes it a crime not only adds to crime, but creates a factitious species of guilt. For law-breaking is always demoralising; and figures which indicate an increased number of breaches of law do indicate, *ceteris paribus*, increasing depravation of national character. 2000 cases of three months’ imprisonment for drink-selling would indicate a mischief sufficient to form a very serious set-off against 30,000 five-shilling fines for drunkenness and 20,000 petty assaults.

To make out even a plausible case for prohibition, two things at least must be proved; first, that no other remedy can be found, and then, that prohibition would be an effectual remedy. Both these propositions are asserted on the part of the prohibitionists, and apparently accepted by Mr. Hill. We demur to both. Whether any thing else will make us a nation of total abstainers, we do not know; we hope not. But the choice is not between abstinence and drunkenness, but between moderation and excess;

and it has yet to be proved that moderation cannot be obtained without the aid of prohibition—in other words, that temperance is impossible. We know, at least, that beyond a voluntary Maine Law among themselves, and a good deal of vapid oratory, the teetotalers have tried no other method of diminishing drunkenness, and have discouraged the attempts of others to do so. With all their eulogies of “the pump,” it was no teetotaler who originated the drinking-fountains of Liverpool, or opened the Liverpool playgrounds. Till every thing else has been fairly tried, it is not merely impatient folly, but consummate impertinence, to ask the legislature to do the work they undertook so boastfully some years ago.

Nor is it proved that a Maine Law would achieve its object. It might stop drinking ; would it cure intemperance ? It does not reach the root of the evil ; its partisans discourage all attempts to do so. That root is deeper than they choose to acknowledge. It is not in the wicked solicitations of the publican ; it is not in the nature of “the traffic,” which supplies, if it also stimulates, a real want ; it is not even in the drink itself. It is the want of something better ; it is the gross sensuality which makes drink a man’s sweetest pleasure ; in the defective education which gives him no higher taste ; in the habits of mind which make degradation tolerable and self-denial all but impossible. It is in the people, not in the beer ; in their habits and circumstances, not in their drink ; in the unfurnished mind, in the cheerless home, not in the flaring gin-palace or the comfortable parlour of the country alehouse. What avails it to destroy one head of a hydra, however large it be ? The first effect of a Maine Law would be a sudden increase in the consumption of opium ; and when we had a prohibition of opium—what next, and next ? The Alliance cannot tell us, and we will not attempt to guess—it certainly would not be temperance. We may make our people as much abstainers as our prisoners, by treating them similarly,—by an army of spies and informers, and by laws which will make England one huge gaol ; but we shall not have made them temperate. A people “whose belly is their god” require not to be put on a diet of bread and water, but to be emancipated from their idolatry, and educated in a better faith.*

The most fatal cause of intemperance among the working-classes is, as we have already said, the want of something better. Like all men uneducated, or so ill-educated that they have no

* We have omitted all reference to the working of the Maine Law in America for two reasons : first, that it is all but impossible to ascertain, amid conflicting assertions, the facts requisite to form a judgment upon its success ; and secondly, that our argument remains unaffected by it. We do not maintain that a Maine Law may not stop *drinking* ; our assertion is, that, among an uneducated people, it will not cure *intemperance*, but merely alter its form.

intellectual tastes, sensual gratifications are almost the only pleasure they can appreciate. In the midst of a high civilisation, they retain many of the characteristics of savages; with one predisposition more to intemperance in that they lead a much less healthy life. When they have warmed and fed themselves, how can they employ what remains to them of time and wealth more agreeably to themselves than in buying spirits, or beer and tobacco? In the latter they do not often indulge to excess; they have not time to do so. But they have time to get drunk at least once a-week; and they get drunk on Saturday as the music-loving Civil Servant goes that evening to the opera, or the hard-worked young merchant to the ball-room, to spend their few weekly hours of leisure in that which gives them the highest pleasure they know. Like those in higher grades of life, if they are not strong of will,—and the uneducated man is here especially inferior to the educated,—pleasure overpowers principle, and the Saturday night's indulgence becomes the occupation for which every spare hour is snatched, for which, presently, hours are taken that cannot be spared, and the man is on the road to ruin. What billiards, clubs, operas, dances, dinner-parties, are to men in one sphere of life, the public-house is to those of another, in more senses than one. It is the place where they find that enjoyment which they most value; it is the place where such other enjoyments as they have are offered them. Does this fact suggest no wiser means of dealing with drunkenness than by suppressing public-houses?

The workman, as a rule, reads but little, even where he reads at all. The penny newspaper is with him the chief literary rival of the beer-can. And if it were so with us, we doubt whether literature would carry the day. The workman's home offers to his senses none of those gratifications which the middle-class man finds in his. Its rooms are inevitably small, because, especially in towns, little space can be given for the rent he can or will pay. They are ill-furnished, because he had little money saved for furnishing when he married at two-and-twenty, and because he had not that educated intelligence which would enable men of a higher class to extract much substantial comfort out of small means. They are untidy, often unclean; for his wife is a bad manager, and her family is numerous. His supper is ill-cooked, and of course therefore unwholesome. In a word, he is thoroughly uncomfortable in body, and his mind is vacant. What wonder if he seeks comfort and amusement where only he can find them?

Again, one grievous cause of intemperance, indicated by its prevalence among workmen in well-paid trades, is the low

standard of living adopted by the working-class. The economist says that men will multiply so as to keep their comforts down to the standard; the practical observer will be inclined to accuse Englishmen rather of drinking them down to this standard. The more that can be done to induce the workman to increase his home comforts and requirements, the more that we can encourage his dormant taste for decent accommodation, good furniture, cottage ornaments, good wardrobes,—we do not mean silk dresses and crinolines for his wife and daughters,—the more pride he can be induced to take in these things, the better man will he be, and the less drunken. Men in all classes will make great exertions and great sacrifices in order not to fall below their usual style of living,—“to keep up appearances,” and avoid loss of caste; and workmen in these respects are not less proud than their employers. Once raise their standard to the average level of their earnings, once induce the formation of a higher standard in the higher ranks of the working-class, and you have struck a blow at national intemperance which it will probably never recover. Teach the workman pride in his home and in the appearance of his family, and you have done two things of most excellent effect; you have diverted his money from drink, and you have diverted his steps from the public-house towards his home.

It is a great misfortune, as bearing on this branch of improvement, that there should exist in England such a “division of society into horizontal layers” as makes a strong distinction between the highest of the working class and those above them, which separates them socially, and makes a union and association, and consequently a gradual assimilation, between classes of working-men whose habits, education, and standard of living ought naturally to be quite distinct. A compositor at 40s. a week is “a working-man,” and his sympathies and associations lie with “the working-class;” they consequently influence his habits and ideas; and instead of aspiring to raise himself into a higher class, he is so much removed from it as not to be materially influenced by its existence, and is satisfied with being in the highest rank of his own class. His standard of habits, comforts, education, is not influenced by those above, but by those below him. And this, among the higher grades of working-men, is a grave evil. On intemperance it operates doubly; making the man both more disposed to spend his money on drink instead of on his home, and less ashamed of doing so than we might at first sight expect from his intelligence and education. For education operates less by directly teaching the folly of vice—which is obvious to most men—than by bringing to bear on educated men the opinion of an educated class. Where it

fails to do this, it loses its chief mode of influence. Again, the further removed the middle class from the upper circles of that immediately below it, the less the likelihood and the ambition of rising in those circles; an ambition, the healthful influence of which on ambitious individuals, and on society at large, can hardly be exaggerated; and which, if generally diffused, would be among the most powerful counteractives that could be applied to the vice of drunkenness.

Another influence favourable to intemperance, as to many other errors, is the moral weakness so conspicuous in the character of the working-classes. The working-man cannot stand alone: he cannot stand up against the Trades-Union, even though he knows it to be his enemy; or stand by his master, even when he has found him his friend. He cannot stand up against the noisy energy of a few demagogues, as yet unsupported by the Union, when they intrigue for a strike in some isolated factory against the deliberate judgment of two-thirds of those employed. He never can be an abstainer, except as a member of a society which can take care of itself and him; he has hardly resolution to be temperate in drinking, if his fellows urge him to excess. One of the worst embarrassments in the way of all social reforms, is that fatal facility with which the uneducated Englishman will "follow a multitude to do evil;" and it has made many a man intemperate whom, if left to himself, self-respect and quiet sense would have preserved.

Again, one fruitful source of intemperance lies in the social usages of the age, for which the working-classes are answerable only in part, and of which those that know better must—so far as blame applies to any—bear the heaviest blame. The public-house is the working-man's club, and a club of which he has more need than his betters have of theirs, inasmuch as he has less enjoyment at home. Give him a better one, and it may be he will leave this; but a club he must have. He needs society, he needs a comfortable room to sit and smoke and hear the news, to keep his mind from rusting—needs it the more because he reads so little. The manager and cashier of the Rochdale Store, himself a working-man, expressed to us what we believe to be the explanation of a very large amount of drunkenness. "The working-man, after his day's work, wants a little company and news. Mostly he can get that only at the public-house. He wants none of the drink" [we should say, would not go for the drink only]; "but as he cannot have the company without the drink, of course he takes it. The habit, in some cases, grows upon him, and he becomes a drunkard." What wonder? If he attempt to amuse himself elsewhere, he is still driven back upon the tavern or the beershop. He goes to the cheap music saloon—the publican

keeps it. He goes to the penny theatre—it is attached to the alehouse. He enters a temperance hotel—dirt, untidiness, discomfort, bad butter, sour bread, nauseous coffee, and tasteless tea drive him out again. He has to attend a benefit-club; he finds its members at the public-house, for where else could they sit? Even in Manchester such societies have sought decent accommodation in vain, except at the public-house. Can he go and enjoy his pipe and his company at home, in his one small room; his wife working there and rocking the cradle with her foot? She would scarcely thank him for bringing his associates there in an evening. A man must have some place of resort, where to meet men; the working-man has none except at the public-house.

The Trades-Unions, among their many other abuses, are fruitful of encouragement to drunkenness. We quote the following from the best teetotal book we have seen, the *Temperance Cyclopædia*:

“There are no less than 297 occasions when intoxicating liquors must be given, offered, and taken. . . . There are very few individuals who are aware of the amount of these fines. Masters themselves are not aware of it; and it is only by an examination of the men and their families that I have found it out. For example, in foundries, a journeyman must pay 10s. 6d. on entering, whether the job is long or short; among carpenters, the fine varies from 10s. to 30s.; a young apprentice to a tailor is obliged to treat the whole shop, and 20s. are expected from him when his time is out; an apprentice to a sawyer is obliged to pay a guinea, to which each of the journeymen puts a shilling; a linen-lapper, after paying 20s. to 30s. on entering, is obliged to pay 2s. 6d. at the measuring of the first web; the coach-maker is obliged to pay 2s. 6d. for every new piece of work he gets; the cabinet-maker's apprentice pays 1s. when he puts on his apron; and when his time is out, he pays 10s. 6d., which is called washing him out; and if he continues in the shop as a journeyman, he pays 10s. 6d. more, and that is called washing him in; he has to pay besides for every new piece of work he gets. If a child is born, the father must pay a footing; and the unfortunate wight who gets married is down for 10s. We must not forget the sums subscribed for tramps, and for the way-goose, and drunken bouts at the lighting of candles, amounting to from 10s. to 8l., and, in some cases, to 20l. When you take this into the account, you need not be surprised to hear that a poor woman paid 4l. 4s. for her son in a rope-walk; and that another individual paid 9l. for his son in a cabinet-maker's establishment, every individual farthing of which was spent in drink.”

No terms of denunciation can be too severe for those employers who continue, or suffer their subordinates to continue, the infamous practice of paying wages at a public-house. To do this, is deliberately to lead those over whom they have influence into the worst sort of temptation at the most dangerous time.

We would hope that few words need be spent on this point; that all, or nearly all, respectable employers have seen the evil, and given up the practice. For others, some of whom, in a subordinate position—such as “butties” of coal-mines and men of a similar class—actually keep public-houses at which the men are paid, and almost coerce them to drink, it would be well that the law should apply that corrective which a sense of duty fails to furnish, and compel the abandonment of a practice as purposeless as mischievous. Some firms, we believe, continue to pay wages “in the lump” by way of avoiding the necessity for small change; Jones receiving the wages of himself, Smith, Brown, and Jackson, and being charged to arrange the division with them. Of course they must go to the public-house—where else could they get a sufficiency of change? and they pay for the accommodation willingly granted them there by returning to the publican some considerable portion of his change in payment for drink. Where this practice, after existing for many years, has been abolished, employers find at once that the extra trouble of procuring change is more than repaid by the improvement in steadiness and sobriety which immediately takes place among their workpeople. Both usages are fair subjects either for social reprobation or legal suppression.

The payment of wages on Saturday afternoon has a decided effect in encouraging drunkenness. The money, the opportunity and the company for a Saturday night's debauch, the ample time to sleep off its effects on Sunday, form a combination of temptations too strong for the workman's power of resistance. The alteration of the pay-day has, in numerous cases, been tried; and always, we believe, with a good effect on the morals of the labourer. There is a gradual extension of the practice of paying on Friday, or even earlier, especially in those districts in which Saturday is a half holiday; and we are inclined to augur important results from such a change, if it should become general. It is most necessary that the pay-time should be dissociated completely from the period consecrated by habit, and devoted by convenience, to the public-house. “The testimony is universal that the greatest amount of drinking takes place on Saturday night, and during the hours that the houses are allowed by law to be open on Sunday,” says the Report of the Select Committee of 1854. “The public-houses, beershops, and gin-palaces, are crowded on Sunday evening; the people wait at the corners to rush into the public-houses directly they are opened.”

Besides those that lie in the condition and character of a class, or in the circumstances and usages which surround them, there is yet another cause of intemperance which we must not leave unnamed—that which shortsighted enthusiasts like to consider

the sole cause—the nature of the trade in strong drink. The publican has a strong personal interest adverse to the public interest. That which is mischievous to society is profitable to him. It is true that every trade has a similar interest in the excessive use of its goods; but it is clear that no other trade has the same power of making its own interest prevail over that of society. No other article is liable to be used to so great an excess; no other tradesman has equal power of inducing his customers to purchase to excess; no excess in any other article is half so dangerous to the common weal. The peculiarity of the retail trade in intoxicating drink, the trade of the alehouse-keeper and the licensed victualler, is this, that it is in the hands of a large and influential class, with an interest strongly adverse to the interest of the country at large, and with tremendous opportunities for advancing their own interest at the cost of the country. Against such a class society has a right to take what precautions it will, even to the extent of suppressing them altogether, were not their existence necessary to the legitimate use by others of the article in which they deal.

“Almost every article,” says Mr. Mill, “which is bought and sold may be used in excess, and the sellers have a pecuniary interest in encouraging that excess; but no argument can be founded on this in favour, for instance, of the Maine Law, because the class of dealers in strong drinks, though interested in their abuse, are indispensably required for the sake of their legitimate use. The interest, however, of these dealers in promoting intemperance is a real evil, and justifies the State in imposing restrictions and requiring guarantees which but for that justification would be infringements of legitimate liberty.”

We are not, then, according to this high authority, to interfere directly or indirectly with the *use* of strong drinks; we have a right, subject to this condition, to check the vendors in any way that may be found necessary. And the same would hold good of any other trade. We should deal in similar fashion with the dealer in opium, if opium were similarly sold and used, and if its use produced mischiefs great enough to induce parliamentary interference. Nay, we should deal similarly with the vendor of female finery, if the love of finery became a serious danger to our material interests, and if the dealers therein had equal opportunities of promoting excess. The man whose trade is one which, if carried on with a sole regard to his own profit, is dangerous to society, must expect to find society on its guard to prevent that trade from being so carried on; and, human nature being what it is, he must not expect society to trust him implicitly to protect the public interests against his own. Without desiring to cast any imputation on the publican, we

avow our conviction that he is eminently unfit to be trusted with any such self-denying charge; and without yielding in any degree to the advocates of a Maine Law, we confess that, in our opinion, the present license law is insufficient to meet the requirements of the case, and the Beer-house Act—which practically allows the establishment of places licensed to sell ale without any effective control at all, except through the right of visitation reserved to the police—a terrible legislative blunder. The suggestion made before the Committee of 1853—that the trade should be thrown entirely open, and the license be converted into a mere annual tax—is in our opinion a greater blunder still.

The number of persons in England and Wales licensed to sell either beer or spirits, or both, amounted in 1857 to 118,000. If we deduct from this number as many as 18,000 for wholesale dealers licensed to sell liquor not to be drunk on the premises, wine-merchants, brewers, &c.,—and this number is probably above the mark,—we have still 100,000 persons licensed to sell beer and spirits to be drunk on the premises; about 60,000 licensed victuallers, and 40,000 beer-house keepers. The male population of England and Wales was in that year estimated at 9,357,000, of whom not above 7,000,000 could be adults. According to this, we have one tavern or beer-shop to every 70 adult males; of which 70 probably as many as 20 never enter such a place. Fifty customers to each liquor-seller is then the average of England and Wales: there are districts and places in which the average would seem to be twenty to one. Is it possible, then, that the publican should live if his customers were not intemperate? is it possible that he should habitually refrain from encouraging a vice which is necessary to the maintenance of his house? These figures alone are sufficient to render it nearly certain that the trade must, as a rule, live, not by the use, but by the abuse of the liquors they sell.

We have, then, different coöperating causes of intemperance, requiring different antidotes. To class these causes in their ascending scale of influence, we have—

1. The interest of the publican in intemperance.
2. Social usages that promote intemperance.
3. Circumstances, wants, defects of character and tastes, disposing the lower orders to intemperance.

The first must be met effectually—as it is now met inadequately—by legislative action; the organised control of society over a class whose interest directly conflicts with those of the people at large. The second probably by some degree of legislative interference, and by strong social reprobation brought to bear upon offenders. The third wholly by social influences; by removing difficulties, supplying wants, improving the circum-

stances, and purifying the tastes of the labouring classes generally: above all, by *education*—moral, intellectual, and *practical*.

Of course, such agencies and methods as we propose to apply operate less violently and less immediately than a forcible suppression by law of the usual means of intemperance. We do not aspire to change in a day the habits and character of a class, nay, of a nation. More than one generation may pass away before the full effect of education, enlightenment, and social improvement is visible. But it will be felt; will be gradual, lasting, and radical: it is slow, but sure. It excites no desperate and powerful resistance; it provokes no vindictive reaction. Not such is the operation of a prohibitory law; which may be a short cut to a desirable end, but which, like other short cuts, is not a safe one. The reign of Puritanism ended in, and probably promoted, a reign of shameless and extravagant license during a whole generation. The reign of Prohibition would probably work its way to a similar termination. It is wiser to trust to slower, more regular, and, we will add, more legitimate influences, which operate without disturbing society, without compelling a strong counter-agitation, and ensuring the permanence of reactionary desires and conspiracies.

(1.) As to the legislative measures required, we express our opinion with much doubt and diffidence, especially as it differs in some respects from that of the Committee of the House of Commons, which reported on this subject in 1854. That Committee inclined to favour the plan—suggested by Mr. Robertson Gladstone, and some other gentlemen—of placing the publicans' trade on the same footing as that of the beer-shops,—allowing any one, on certain conditions, to demand a license from the magistrates. We think this undesirable, and wholly needless; the appeal to quarter-sessions appearing to afford a sufficient remedy in all well-grounded cases of complaint against the caprice or partiality of the licensing sessions. And the power of not renewing the license is far more likely to be exercised—though even this is far too rarely exercised—in cases of misconduct than that of withdrawing it, applicable only after legal proof of a species of misconduct most difficult to prove by legal evidence. We think that that suggestion which has reference to the assimilation of all retail licenses—the abolition of all distinction between beer-shops and public-houses—is shown by ample evidence to be necessary both for the protection of the revenue from illicit dealing, and for the proper maintenance of police regulations; but we would accomplish the object by repealing the Beer-house Act, and placing the granting of licenses entirely under the jurisdiction of the local magistracy, subject to appeal as at present. We would remove from wholesale

dealers all those troublesome restrictions, which cannot be obeyed, and only lead to demoralisation by inducing breaches of the law ; we would make the only distinction between the merchant and the publican the permission to sell liquor "to be drunk on the premises," and make the evasion of this rule punishable by heavy penalties on both vendor and purchaser. If any thing be wanting to complete the power of police entrance and supervision, the defect should be amended, and every precaution taken to oblige the publican to carry on his business under the eye of a vigilant authority.

Following out a recommendation of the Committee, we would compel every publican, at the granting or renewal of his license, to produce two—or better, four—responsible sureties, not being brewers, or wine or spirit merchants, who should enter into recognisances for his good behaviour ; to be forfeited in the event of any violation of the law by the publican himself, or, *at the discretion of the bench*, in case of the commission of certain specific offences within the house itself. Thus, in the first place, we should have the strongest possible guarantee for the observance of rules made by the law for the regulation of the trade ; and in the second place, we should have obtained an important security against the establishment of what are known as "disorderly houses." No one would consent to risk the forfeiture of his money by entering into recognisances for the conduct of a house whose master he did not well know to be respectable. Receivers and returned convicts could only open their houses by a violation of the law, and would thus be absolutely at the mercy of the police ; a large class of houses, occupying a position above theirs, but below that of the respectable publican, would be closed at once, and the honest part of the trade thrown into the hands of a better class of men.*

Much mischief is done by the music-saloons, dancing-rooms, and other places of amusement, attached to public-houses. They are admittedly of the lowest character ; are nests of immorality

* Ample evidence has been given to show that *all* places of public refreshment—eating-houses, oyster-shops, coffee-houses, and the rest—ought to be subject to control similar to that exercised over public-houses especially so called ; and the Committee of 1854 reported to this effect. Sir R. Mayne and Mr. D. W. Harvey concur in testifying, that "we find more violations of the law taking place in coffee-houses, which are not under the cognisance of the police, than in public-houses." These coffee-shops remain open in some cases the whole night ; receive those whom the public-houses are obliged to turn out when the law compels them to close, and not unfrequently prove to be places for the illicit sale of spirits, exempt from the restrictions imposed on the lawful trade of their rivals. It is clear that they should be placed on a similar footing as to license and supervision ; the license-fee being of course small, as we do not wish to discourage this kind of establishment, and the sureties demanded being for a less amount, and subject to less severe conditions, than in the case of houses where intoxicating liquors are to be sold.

themselves, and form a back-door through which lads and young girls, too respectable or too young to walk into the bar, are enticed into the public-house, and introduced to habits of secret drinking, to bad company, and to ultimate ruin. These allurements to a bad habit should be suppressed at once. We have no right to prevent people from drinking; but we have a right to forbid the publican to allure them by such devices as these. We demand no restriction on the use of liquors, no hindrance on those who desire to go and buy them, when we say that all places of this kind should be brought under the act which subjects theatres to the control of the Lord Chamberlain; and that officer should make it a rule to grant no license for any such establishment to the owner or occupier of a public-house, or in any place next-door to a public-house. We do not propose that this rule should be enforced by law, as such a law would inevitably prevent refreshments, such as beer or wine, from being sold in any place of entertainment; we merely wish that the Lord Chamberlain should use his discretion, by refusing to license such places as appendages to the regular business of the publican, who is sure to regard them as means of increasing the sale of his wares, and attracting customers who would otherwise be sober enough, but who, having come to see or to listen, remain to drink and to get drunk.

Sunday is the publican's harvest-day; the day on which the people have most leisure to go to him, and least liberty to go any where else. We would restrict his opportunities, and deprive him of his monopoly. There is no reason why he should enjoy a special privilege without paying for it; and we would exact an extra license-fee, and if necessary an increased amount of security, from the tavern-keepers who desired to be allowed to open on Sunday. The ordinary license should, as in the case of the (now abolished) six-day cab-licenses, be available only from Monday morning to Saturday night; a new permission should be necessary for Sunday opening, and a new payment required. This would, we believe, lead to a very general closing on Sunday, as most of the better sort of publicans would be glad to enjoy a day of rest, and many of the others would not care to pay for the right of losing it. At the same time, the man who really wanted a glass of beer or of brandy would not find it very difficult to get it; and those who did not, finding their usual resort closed, would not care to go and seek another, *especially if better places were opened to them.*

In keeping closed against the people all places of rational recreation, whether public or private property, on the people's own day, the Sabbatarians are doing the work of their Master's adversary in the most effectual manner—are aiding incalcula-

bly the degradation and depravation of their countrymen. On Sunday, the Crystal Palace and the Zoological Gardens are closed against the working-man, the Museum is shut, the Free Library is locked up; but the gin-shop is open. That or the church,—such is his only choice; and we know how he chooses. If he will not worship God, he is forced into the service of the devil. On Sunday, at the hours when he is abroad, "*whatever door is shut against the poor man, the door of the public-house is open to him;*" and we cannot shut it till we have opened another. Excursion-trains have done much, especially for the better-paid of the working-men; the Park Bands have done something; but very much remains to do. Open the libraries, the museums, the picture-galleries, the public gardens; then, and not till then, you may close five-sixths of the public-houses, and the rest are very likely to close themselves. We will not deign to argue the theory which confounds the Christian Sunday—the high feast-day of our genial Church—with the Saturday fast-day of the Hebrew law; we will only say, that any man who employs a servant that day to attend on him, has no right to denounce the employment of others to serve the public; that no "work of necessity or mercy" better deserves either title than the work of affording to the labouring man a Sunday substitute for the gin-shop.

(2.) There can be no moral reason why the law should not interfere, in some cases, with the worst of those social usages which we have indicated as a second cause of intemperance. The peremptory abolition of all fines, footings, and the like, in workshops, now enforced by the systematic tyranny over one another which is a dark blot on the character of the working-classes, would, if practicable, be certainly beneficial. The money mispent on these occasions is obtained by a species of extortion which bears not a little resemblance to actual robbery; and which would justify legal coercion, if coercion should seem likely to effect the object. Employers, at all events, should set themselves resolutely to extirpate practices at once extortionate and pernicious; and steady, conscientious discouragement on their part of all attempts to obtain money under such pretences as those described above, might probably be sufficient, without the intervention of the law, to remedy the evil. Wherever the assistance of the legislature can be dispensed with, it ought not to be invoked: first, because every new law is a new evil in itself; and secondly, because law can only act roughly, clumsily, and by general definitions, often suppressing much good and causing much inconvenience in repressing a practice which well-directed private efforts might have cured without such drawbacks. Where, however, personal interest is too

strong for merely social means and individual strength, let law be invoked. Let employers of labour, and their foremen, be forbidden to have an interest in the drunkenness of their hands by a law which shall prevent them from keeping or taking a share in a public-house, if the practice be found to prevail so extensively that legislation is necessary. Let the payment of wages at a public-house be summarily prohibited, if it be not so fast dying out as to require no legal prohibition. In all these cases we are endeavouring, not to prevent men from drinking, if they like, but to prevent their being coerced or cajoled into drinking, whether they like it or no; and this the most earnest disciple of Mr. Mill's doctrines will not dispute our right to do.

(3.) The Committee of 1854 overstepped this line when they proposed to forbid benefit clubs and similar societies from meeting at public-houses. In the first place, these societies have a right to meet where they please, and a right to drink, with which the law ought not to interfere. Moreover, they don't know where else to go. The "Temperance Hotels" are out of the question; they are almost invariably dirty, squalid, and comfortless; coffee-houses and eating-houses are either too good and too exclusive for the working-man, or else so mean and low that no respectable club of working-men chooses to enter them. The remedy is the same that we have indicated for the whole system of drunkenness: would you wean the working-man from the tavern and the drink, *give him somewhere else to go, and something better to do*. And if the teetotalers had understood this, they would not have failed. A club-room, recreations, education,—these are cures for intemperance more radical than the Maine Law.

A working-man's club was opened in Liverpool, under the patronage of philanthropic gentlemen, and under the management of working-men. It could not be made to pay, and was eventually given up. Amusements had been provided, refreshments were served of fair quality and at moderate price, lectures were delivered, songs sung, and dramatic entertainments arranged on a small scale, for the gratification of those who attended. But the plan did not succeed. It attempted to combine too many things; and we fear that a room which was at once a concert-hall and lecture-room could hardly be a good place for easy social intercourse. Women, again, were introduced, and beer forbidden; mistakes, as we consider them, likely seriously to interfere with the success of any place intended to compete with the ale-house as a social resort for the working-man's evenings. A money payment, however small, at the doors, probably acted disadvantageously, keeping out many who would have come in and become permanent subscribers, if their first entrance could have

been gratuitous. A trifling addition to the price of refreshments, and a voluntary subscription for the special attractions offered by singers and actors, would probably have brought in an equal amount of money, and many more attendants. The failure of this "Recreative Society" is no doubt discouraging; but it need not prevent other attempts, which may possibly prove more successful—especially if any patronage afforded by men of the higher classes can be studiously kept in the background, and if the patrons will abstain from imposing, by their presence, a too frequent constraint upon the shy and suspicious class they desire to benefit. Clubs formed by working-men themselves, receiving from the kindness of others nothing beyond the use, on fair terms, of rooms furnished suitably for their object, and left to make their own rules and their own arrangements, seem to us to have the best chance of success.

Of all means of supplying the workman's desire for unconstrained social enjoyment, those offered by coöperative associations are the most suitable and promising. The newsroom of the Rochdale Store has proved itself a most powerful rival to the public-house. Society, comfortable accommodation, and easy chat are to be had there, as well at least as at the alehouse, and at no cost at all. The workman feels that he is there at home, has a right to be there, and is beholden to no one for his comfortable seat, his paper, and his company; he has no patron beneath whose eye he feels constrained and shy, no rules except those which he helped to frame. He is attracted thither by the fact that he is a member of the store; he finds himself well off when he is there, and at the same time he is brought under influences adverse to intemperance, and most conducive to thrift, self-respect, and an ambition to save money and improve his condition. And the man who has learned self-respect, thrift, and ambition, may be held as emancipated from the thralldom of drunkenness. The spread of these institutions which is now taking place in the manufacturing districts, if it be not ruined by too rapid success, seems to us likely to have in this, as in many other respects, a most healthful influence on the character and habits of the working-class; and though in no sense inclined to Socialism, we regard with unmingled satisfaction the progress of coöperation; hoping only that it will be slow enough to give its leaders time to acquire judgment and self-knowledge before it confers on them the power which success must give, and which only a laborious apprenticeship can teach them to wield.

To improve the workman's home should be among the first objects, as it certainly would be amongst the most powerful instruments, of those who desire to improve his habits. At pre-

sent the labouring classes have a keen appreciation of luxury in the gross form of delicate food and strong drink; but little love of comfort, because they are little used to it. Now nothing is so likely to diminish both their desire for, and their willingness to pay for, luxuries as an increasing love of comfort. Some feeble efforts have already been made to provide better dwellings for the working-classes; to give them sufficient air for health, sufficient accommodation for decency, sufficient space for comfort. Such efforts deserve all honour and support; and if wisely directed,—if their promoters abstain from exciting the jealousy and pride of an eminently susceptible class,—if they refrain from imposing rules and exacting conditions,—their experiments may be sufficiently successful to justify and to induce similar enterprises on a larger scale. We confess that we have little hope of permanently raising the character of any class until their homes are such as deserve the name; until their dwellings are such that, however poor, they need not be ashamed of them; are such, at least, as to admit of that degree of decency without which morality is difficult, and self-respect impossible. A man whose home is not fit to go to is sure to spend his time at the public-house; and the way to cure him is, not to close his refuge against him, but to relieve him from the want of one.

Chiefly, however, we must look to education as a means of correcting intemperance: first, as it enlightens the working-man regarding the degradation which drunkenness inflicts on himself individually, and on his order as a whole; and secondly, as it, beyond all other influences, gives him higher tastes and better occupation. We know that it has been said that education fails to alleviate intemperance; that the most educated districts are sometimes among those most noted for drunkenness. Without entering into a discussion as to the truth of this allegation, we would point out one thing,—that the knowledge of reading and writing, which is what in statistics is meant by education, has little or no inherent connection with temperance, and only affords a man the means of self-instruction, without in any way predisposing him to avail himself of those means. It gives him the key of a cabinet of the value of whose contents he has no idea, and which it will give him no little trouble to open. This is too generally all the education which working-men possess; they can read without ease, and write with much difficulty. Something more than this is wanted in an education which is to develop intellectual tastes and control sensual appetites; and something more than this an ever-increasing proportion of the rising generation receive. All *ought* to receive the best education that the country can give them; and if they do not, it is partly because we have not yet done with the squabbles of sects

and parties over the matter to be taught, and partly because, in our anxiety for the liberty of the parents, we have strangely overlooked the primary and imperative right of children to be so educated as to have every chance of becoming worthy and useful, and the indisputable right of the State to give them such a training as shall render them valuable citizens. When our errors in this respect have been gradually amended, and when education, of a kind sufficient to develop intellectual tastes and faculties, shall be the rule instead of the exception among all orders of the population, it is not likely that any sceptic will be left to question the influence of *such* education in weaning the people from intemperance.

We must not expect from education what it never can, and never will, perform—the undesirable miracle of making the working-man a purely intellectual being. It has not done so with his betters. They do not find in literature, severe or light, an all-sufficient recreation; they demand their pastimes, their social enjoyment, their physical pleasures; and he must have his. They drink wine at their dinners; he drinks beer now, and will drink it however well educated he may be. They take a dose of brandy when drenched or exhausted; he will do likewise. He has a right to his pleasures of sense as well as of intellect; and those who overlook this right put themselves hopelessly and mischievously in the wrong—in a false position, in which they can neither serve him nor do credit to themselves. All that we ought to wish is to wean him from excess; to make drink no longer his chief pleasure, the public-house no longer his best resort; to render him, not the slave of an ascetic pledge or an inquisitive law, but a free man among men, master of himself, and able to use a blessing without abusing it. We will not consent to insult him, nor encourage him to degrade himself, by accepting the idea implied alike in pledge and law—that he is too weak to be capable of temperance, too helpless to be fit for self-guidance; and that the permanent condition of three-fourths of our population must be that of ill-managed children, to whom we dare allow no fire lest they should burn themselves, and who can only be kept in safety by putting all possible means of self-injury beyond their reach.

ART. VI.—THEODORE PARKER.

Theodore Parker's Experience as a Minister. London: Whitfield, 1859.*

——— *Additional Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons.* 2 vols. Boston, U.S., 1859.

——— *Four Sermons addressed to the Progressive Friends at the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting,* 1858. New York, 1858.

——— *Trial for the Misdemeanour of a Speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping.* Boston, U.S., 1855.

——— *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology.* London: Chapman, 1853.

——— *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings.* London: Chapman, 1848.

——— *Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion.* Third edition. Boston, U.S., 1847.

THEODORE PARKER, with all his deficiencies and exaggerations, must certainly be pronounced one of the religious powers of the age. In spite, or rather perhaps in consequence, of much clerical abuse and some clerical misrepresentation, he is widely and increasingly read. His writings meet a want that is extensively felt. By his bold and uncompromising assertion of certain great principles which the popular theology ignores, but which the awakening intelligence of society more clearly recognises every day, he has won for himself an amount of fervid and confiding sympathy which accepts his views in the gross, without very accurately discriminating the sound and unsound elements which they involve. His fearless honesty of mind and noble heroism of character justly add great moral weight to whatever proceeds from his pen; for he writes with such genuine earnestness, with so profound a faith in God and man, that amidst much which we may be compelled to throw aside, we always find that he has left with us some seed of imperishable truth, and opened to us with surprising freshness some unheeded aspect of the everlasting gospel of humanity. Like his distinguished countryman Dr. Channing, his name is gradually extending beyond the limits of his native language. His *Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion* was translated into German a few years ago by a Protestant clergyman, and has, we believe, excited considerable attention; contributing its share, with other writings of kindred tendency, to a revival of the almost extinct interest about religion among the thoughtful laity of Germany. An alarming attack on the lungs, induced, it is believed, by severe and unremitting mental exertion, has compelled him,

* This is an accurate reprint of the Boston edition, in good type, and very neatly got up.

within the last twelve months, to desist from his public ministrations, and seek the chances of recovery in a southern climate. During his first interval of rest after quitting Boston, he addressed a letter to his flock in that city, giving some account of his experience as a minister, and of his early life. The marked expressions of sympathy and personal regard which flowed in upon him from all sides on the occurrence of this calamity, and in offering which persons the most opposed to his theological position were not the least conspicuous, had touched deeply his generous and affectionate heart; and his response to them in this letter breathes a kindly and loving spirit, which to many will place his character in a new light, and show how the gentlest humanities may dwell in one nature with a stern courage, an iron will, and a passionate energy of purpose. When a strong and brave man is laid aside for a season from work, and there is a temporary lull of the fierce controversies which raged around him as their centre, the occasion seems not unsuitable for calmly estimating his character and aims, taking account of his services to truth and freedom, and attempting to determine his relation to the actual world of theological thought, in which he fills no unimportant place.

Mr. Parker was born in a village of New England not far from Boston, of a family which had distinguished itself in the War of Independence, and possessed in an eminent degree the household virtues, the healthy moral instincts, and the deep religious seriousness characteristic of the yeomanry of that part of the world, and inherited from their Puritan descent. His mother cherished in him from infancy a profound reverence for justice and freedom; and his father's strong intellect and natural aptitude for metaphysical speculation, not seldom found conjoined with deep piety in a humble condition of life, had much influence in shaping the tendencies of his opening mind. His early education was plain and rough, but invigorating. Bodily toil was intermingled with the ordinary course of education; the shop and the farm served to train him as well as the school; and so, to use his own words, "he did not fail to learn the great lesson of personal industry, and to acquire power of work—to begin early, to continue long, with strong and rapid stroke." He was not without access to some variety of good books; and those that fell into his hands were not only read but studied, and "not laid aside till well understood." The failure of a richer literary culture left room for a more valuable development. His powers of observation and continuous attention were assiduously cultivated; he made himself familiar with all natural objects—the flowers, the birds, the insects of his native woods and fields; and in these pursuits he acquired that keen percep-

tion of the features, and that exquisite enjoyment of the beauties of the outward world, of which his writings furnish so many striking proofs. The wish had possessed him from childhood to become a minister; and although the snares and difficulties of the clerical career presented themselves strongly to his mind, he thought he could resist and master them; and at length he fulfilled his purpose by entering the Theological School in Harvard University. He commenced his academic life at a time of great mental excitement and contention,—when the Unitarian controversy, then recently opened, was violently agitating the Congregationalist churches of Massachusetts, and Dr. Channing was rapidly advancing to the zenith of his influence. The professors at Harvard belonged to the new and liberal school; and Parker acknowledges with gratitude the benefit which he derived from their free, unprejudiced, and learned instructions. At college he was a laborious student, with an amazing capacity of rapid acquisition, teaching others for his own support while he learned himself. He quitted Harvard with regret, and in 1837 was ordained minister of a small country parish at West Roxbury, in the neighbourhood of Boston.

His pastoral duties being light, he had considerable leisure for study; and he read extensively on all subjects that bore on Christianity. If he had doubts, they arose not from coldness and indifference, but from deep earnestness. He had long been dissatisfied with the authoritative character claimed by theologians for the Bible indiscriminately as a whole, and had sought a foundation for his own faith in the recognition of three grand primary intuitions, of which the Bible seemed to him only one of the manifestations—the intuitions of a God, of a Moral Law, and of Immortal Life. Eager to speak the truth that was in him, yet fearful of weakening what might be a support of religion in other minds, he remained for a long time anxious and embarrassed, not knowing what course to take. He consulted old and experienced friends both among the clergy and the laity; and although they were not exempt from his own doubts, they recommended silence, as they saw no good likely to result from disclosure. In this disingenuousness he could not long acquiesce. He wrote two sermons to show that pure religion was not responsible for the contradictions in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures; and he kept them by him for more than a year. At length, to ease his conscience, he preached them, but with fear and trembling, not venturing to look his audience in the face and see the immediate result. The result, however, was very different from what he expected. Plain, unlettered people, not the least devout of his hearers, came and thanked him for having delivered their minds from difficulties under which they

had been labouring for years. He had removed a stone of stumbling from their path. "The most thoughtful and religious," he says, "seemed the most instructed." In a country where the old Puritan reverence for the letter of Scripture was still a strong though vague and obscure feeling, doctrines such as these naturally produced uneasiness. The full extent of the demands of spiritual freedom was as yet imperfectly understood even in Massachusetts. Views akin to Parker's, and held by many devout and Christian men, were stigmatised by a distinguished biblical scholar as the "latest form of infidelity." The attorney-general brought an indictment for blasphemy against a learned minister, for having ventured to argue that the Christ of Christians was not the expected Christ of the Jews, and that the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament were not historically fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth. The editor of a newspaper, who had shown, it must be allowed, a want of fitting reverence, was thrown into prison for having written against the ecclesiastical notion of God; the last man ever punished for blasphemy in Massachusetts.

In such a state of public feeling, Parker could not expect to escape. At an Ordination Service in 1841, he preached a sermon "On the Transient and Permanent in Christianity," which caused intense excitement. An aged minister addressed a letter to the newspapers, in which he called for a prosecution of blasphemy and a condemnation to three years' imprisonment. None of the great bookselling houses in Boston could be induced to bring out the sermon. It was at last printed at the Swedenborgian press. Many of the older ministers declared "that this young man must be silenced." He found sympathy, however, in more quarters than one. Some clergymen who did not share his views, nobly stood by him amidst the general odium; and he himself, with characteristic ardour of purpose, was determined that his opinions should be heard. In the autumn of 1841, he lectured in Boston; and the lectures then delivered he afterwards published in his *Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion*, the most complete and finished, perhaps, of all his works. In the autumn of the following year, he again lectured in Boston; and in 1843, harassed by opposition and worn out by mental toil and anxiety, he sought relief in change of scene and a visit to Europe. He was cordially welcomed home again by his little flock at West Roxbury; but the ecclesiastical prejudice against him was as strong as ever, though a few Unitarian ministers continued his steadfast friends. To some extent, perhaps, he gratuitously exasperated the popular hostility by the unguarded boldness of his statements, and his undisguised contempt for what he deemed the hollowness of the prevalent theo-

logy. Yet he did not speak or write without effect. A feeling sprang up and increased, that he had some truth and right on his side, and that if it were so, it ought to be known. A few persons who thought so held a meeting, when a young man proposed a resolution, which was carried, "that the Rev. Theodore Parker shall have a chance to be heard in Boston." This was the occasion of his removal from West Roxbury, and of his commencing that series of public ministrations which have been followed by such remarkable results, and which gathered round him before their close every Sunday one of the largest Protestant audiences in the United States. A small but determined body had chosen their minister, but it was difficult to find a place of meeting. Every hall but one, though the most liberal terms were offered, was closed against them. However, in February 1845, the new church was opened, and began its independent and singular career. The broad rudimental principles which he announced as the basis of his preaching were three: the infinite perfection of God; the adequacy of Man for all his functions; and absolute or natural Religion. From the first he assumed the resolute attitude of a reformer. His ministry was meant to be a protest against the crying evils of his age and nation. It brought him, therefore, inevitably into frequent collision with the four great ruling powers of society—the Commercial, the Political, the Ecclesiastical, and the Literary Interest; and many things which seem strange in his sayings and doings, and shock our conventional notions of pulpit decorum, are to be traced to his peculiar view of the demands of ministerial duty. His sermons, except in a subordinate degree, rarely touched on the usual doctrinal controversies, or meddled with abstract questions of morals, but were chiefly occupied either in the development of fundamental principles on which he desired to rest a sounder theology, or in directly applying the principles so evolved to the rectification of social ills. The first of these objects placed him in antagonism with the great body of the clergy of all persuasions. The second led him to denounce and oppose, at the peril of his life, the grand iniquity of his country,—the institution of slavery—aggravated as it was by the lust of political power, and extended by the Fugitive Slave Law to states where it had no constitutional existence. During the intense excitement created in Boston by the attempt to carry this last measure into execution, he showed a martyr's courage and determination. Regarding it as a case of open conflict between the law of God and the law of man, he justified the use of physical force for the defence or rescue of runaway slaves. Some of these he harboured in his own house, where he regarded them as members of his flock; there were times, he tells us, when he wrote his

sermons with a loaded pistol in his desk. We can hardly realise this as a fact of civilised life in the middle of the nineteenth century. In consequence of his strong language on this subject, he was indicted, with several others, for a misdemeanour before the Court of the United States, and had prepared a defence; but, owing to some technical informality, the proceedings were quashed in their preliminary stage; and as there was a strong party in his favour, those who had instituted them were not sorry to let the matter drop. But the influence of wealth and social position set strongly against him. Even those whose theological opinions were not at the widest distance from his own, hung back from publicly recognising him, and viewed him with a certain distrust as a dangerous man. Only two years before his health broke down, he had been requested by the senior divinity class at Cambridge to deliver the customary address on the Sunday previous to their graduation; but the Theological Faculty, consisting of three Unitarian ministers, interposed their *veto* to prevent it. Notwithstanding his scholarly habits and devotion to study, Theodore Parker has spent a life of unremitting public activity. In addition to his regular duties as a preacher, he has constantly lectured in various parts of the Union on the subjects in which he was most desirous to excite the interest of his countrymen—the wickedness of Slavery, the dignity of Labour, the elevation of Women, and the true nature and influence of Religion. Such is a brief outline of the ministerial experience of this remarkable man, as narrated by himself.

In this rapid survey of his public life, Mr. Parker has introduced a slight and irregular sketch of his theological and philosophical system; but, writing to friends already familiar with it, he presupposes much which is not fully stated, and the want of which leaves the general reader incompetent to embrace clearly his views. His letter in this respect resembles one of the Epistles of Paul. He scatters his seed of thought on a soil prepared for it; but they who are without have first to learn what that soil is, before they can understand what fruit it will bear. From his writings of various kinds we may collect a tolerably complete idea of his fundamental principles. In his earliest work, the *Discourse*, they are alone exhibited in any thing like a systematic form. His later productions are chiefly occasional, and his principles are often disguised by the onesidedness and exaggeration almost inseparable from controversy. It must not be forgotten, too, that Theodore Parker is not so much a divine or a philosopher as a social reformer, and all that he has written must in fairness be judged from that point of view. He early convinced himself that there were radical deficiencies in the

churches and theology of his time, which drew after them great social evils; and he saw, as he thought, the truths, overlooked by the majority and hidden under artificial dogmas, which meet this want, and ought to be put forth, without fear of immediate consequences, by all who discern them. In the views which he thus circulated there was doubtless a large element of invaluable truth, which the world is deeply indebted to him for having brought so clearly out. But, like all men of strong faith and earnest purpose who are set on effecting a great change in public opinion, he seems to us to have grasped the very truth which he had discovered in too narrow and dogmatic a form, he seems not to have separated from it with sufficient discrimination certain assumptions with which it has no necessary connection, and in his eagerness to reform the present and secure a better future, to be at times unjust to the past. Indeed, he is not always consistent with himself.

Mr. Parker bases all religion on a grand primary intuition. He finds in the human soul, so universally as to make apparent exceptions of no weight in the general result, an instinctive sentiment of Deity, the germ of religiousness. In this primitive germ of sentiment lies folded up, according to him, the intuitive idea of God, subsequently developed by the Higher Reason. As men become self-conscious and reflective, the sense of the Infinite arises within them; and under its influence they silently expand this innate sentiment of the Divine, which their own wider experience and observation are continually enriching and enlarging, till it reaches the dimensions of a faith in Infinite Being, Absolute Causality, the Ground of all things, the Infinite of Power, Wisdom, and Love. So we arrive at the Intuitive Idea of God. It is a combined result of the primitive instinct and the necessary operation of our original faculties.* But the idea thus wrought out by the pure intellect is cold and abstract. Between this, the final conclusion of religious philosophy, and the dim sentiment of the half-conscious savage, there is an intervening stage of belief in which the imagination attempts, under various forms, to realise to itself the presence and working of a Divine Being. This Parker calls the Conception of God, to distinguish it from the Sentiment and the Idea of God. All the great popular religions which have held sway in the earth, embody some form of this conceptional faith; and as the conception corresponds to and represents the point of mental and moral advancement at which the people entertaining it have arrived, it must, from its very nature, be changing and progressive. The absolute idea of God's infinite perfection, with all the consequences legitimately deducible from it, as distinct from the

* Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion, book ii. ch. i.

mutable conception of the popular religions, is the corner-stone of Mr. Parker's theological system; and he lays on it a great, almost an exclusive, stress. With the idea of the Divine perfection he connects, as an inseparable consequence, that of absolute and inflexible law pervading the entire universe. This deduction compels him to deny, *à priori*, all miracle as usually understood, and all special inspiration; for these things on his theory are impossibilities, and the admission of them would subvert his fundamental idea of God. Scripture, therefore, with all its truth and beauty, is only one among many human literatures, a product of the normal working of natural human faculties, as much within the circle of unchanging and eternal law as the *Principia* of Newton or the *Kosmos* of Humboldt. It is not, and cannot be, the only, the final, and the authoritative Word of God. It exhibits various and successive forms of conceptional religion, and is at war with itself; the old Judaic dispensation being wholly irreconcilable with the gospel of love preached by Jesus Christ, though both are contained within the cover of the same book, and both are treated by Christians in general with equal regard. Mr. Parker denies the validity of the ordinary theological distinction between natural and revealed religion, between the regular and the special operations of Divine grace. He holds God to be immanent in every part of creation, and present to every human soul—but acting in and through the material and the mental worlds according to uniform and irreversible law; not, however, in any pantheistic sense, which is excluded by his definition of God, and which he distinctly repudiates.* The admission of this artificial distinction between nature and revelation has been fatal, he thinks, to a free and progressive theology, and in Protestantism has only substituted one kind of spiritual despotism for another. Slavery to the Church has been exchanged for bondage to the Bible, the reverence for which among the more rigid Scripturalists has degenerated into a blind Fetish worship. To overthrow the tyranny of the Letter, and set up in its place the free service of the Spirit; to fling off all subserviency to outward and traditional authority, and to keep the mind ever open to fresh communications from the eternal Fountain of truth and right;—this, argues Parker, should be the aim of every true reformer who would raise the churches of Christendom from their present languishing condition, and make them once more vehicles of spiritual life to the world.†

* See Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology, p. 106; a remarkable passage, where he declares himself anti-Hegelian.

† See Discourse of Matters, &c. book v. ch. vi.; Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 64; Review of Dorner's work "On the Person of Christ," in the Miscellanies; and Experience as a Minister, *passim*.

Mr. Parker affirms, that we have intuitively through our reason "a positive idea of God," "the most positive of all ideas, implied logically in every idea that we form,"—"clear and distinct, not to be confounded with any other idea," "the central truth of all other ideas whatever."* If by this be simply meant, that through an impulse inherent in the mind, men pursue cause after cause, till they rest in the idea of a final and absolute causality; that this first cause, from inability to conceive any limit to its nature and working, they necessarily invest with the attribute of infinity; and that in this form the Divine Idea endures as the immutable background of all human thought, and is involved as a fundamental element in every apprehension of phenomenal existence;—he asserts what no one will dispute; it is nothing more than what every philosophical theist has uniformly asserted. But when he sets up this Idea in opposition to the Conception of God, which he would have it supersede and exclude, and makes it a sort of boast that "it is the corner-stone of all his theological and religious teaching, the foundation, perhaps, of all that is peculiar in his system,"† he assumes more than he is entitled to, and more than even his own concessions will allow. He admits himself that this idea of the pure reason is "cold and abstract," not answering "to this complex nature of ours;" that it is made up, in fact, of successive negations, a denial of all thought and all affection in God, such as we can alone conceive them.‡ Nothing, indeed, remains, after this rigid elimination of all positive elements, but the faintest outline of metaphysical definition, which seems to us to include within it a simple vacuum, pale and colourless, till the warm flush of our human affections is shed on it, reflected from the conception of what is purest and noblest within ourselves. Only thus does God become a Reality to us, sustaining the closest vital relationship to our humanity. With so entire an exclusion of the conceptional element as we understand Mr. Parker to contend for, we do not see how, at the end of his analysis of the Idea, he can consistently get at its two most important ingredients, Knowledge and Love.

The *humanising* of the conception of God, which Mr. Parker shrinks from as a degrading limitation of the Divine Idea, we, on the contrary, within limits to be shortly specified, regard as the necessary condition of all knowledge which can act with any effect on our moral nature, and of recognising in any intelligible sense the personality of Deity. We can only set out from ourselves. We are to ourselves the first and nearest of realities. We rise to the Divine from and through the Human. Here

* Discourse, &c. pp. 150-153, third edition.

† Experience, &c. p. 78.

‡ Discourse, &c. p. 156.

alone, in our own deep, indestructible self-consciousness, has reason any footing of permanence and solidity. Instinctive feeling is the germ of religiousness. Out of this are evolved successive conceptions, less and less unworthy of their object, as human nature itself expands. Beyond these, and excited by them, the philosophic reason awakes. But its object is not to annihilate the positive elements sent up from the inner depths of the soul; rather, by a wise employment of the great abstractions of the Infinite and the Absolute, to clear away from them all needless limitations, and open before them a boundless space for future expansion. It is true, the religious faculty may embody in its conception of Deity the lower as well as the higher attributes of human nature; and when, as in the earlier stages of social development, the passions are in the ascendant, and the imagination is their minister, if visible representation be not, as in the Hebrew decalogue, sternly prohibited, a gross humanity will of course reflect itself in its visions of the Divine, and give birth to an anthropomorphic idolatry. A Baal, a Thammuz, a Melcarth, and an Astarte will be the result. But the instinct of progress is ever active in our nature. Religious reverence finds an object in higher qualities. The spirit of wisdom and the spirit of beauty, so widely diffused through all things, are at length personified in an Athene and an Apollo, and draw towards them the worship and the aspiration of mankind. Nor does the process of spiritual development stop here. Men transfer to God what they most value in humanity. Its highest development leads up to Him, and furnishes the point of view for contemplating Him, though it is seen to fall infinitely below Him. There is felt to be something more excellent and glorious than wisdom or power, something which can alone give to these attributes any title to reverence or trust—Truth, Justice, Mercy, Rectitude, Holiness, and Love. A perception of the eternal and unchangeable worth of these qualities clings to the deepest consciousness of our spiritual being, and becomes clearer and distincter with its expansion. We could not lose it entirely without ceasing to be men. And these qualities we send up into our conception of God, with a perfect confidence that they are His (though in a way and to a degree infinitely transcending our present comprehension), because we feel there is, and must be, an affinity between our spirits and the Father of Spirits. The profound sense of dependence and responsibility which the most reckless unbelief cannot entirely shake off, would be something contradictory and inexplicable without this close moral relationship between us and Him. It is through the inspirations of conscience, then, though they can only suggest a human conception, without giving the infinite idea, that we rise up to an

inadequate, but still, as far as it goes, a true and real apprehension of God. We are at least put on the right track for apprehending him. We feel there is something divine, yea infinite, in our own moral promptings, which belongs to the essence of humanity. We are sure that we are not now dealing with an intellectual abstraction, but have got hold of a spiritual substance; and though our individual being is closed from below, and we can trace it down to its commencement in the first dim pulsations of the primitive consciousness, yet above, and towards God, it ever opens wider and wider, to receive a fuller influx of the Divine. Spiritual knowledge grows out of spiritual experience. The conception advances incessantly and imperceptibly towards the idea; but as conception is the form of finite thought, while the perfect idea can only be grasped by an infinite intelligence, the inference is obvious, that the human mind in its most advanced stage of conceivable perfection will never be able to divest itself entirely of the limitations of a conceptional apprehension of God. We can deduce from this only one practical conclusion, and it is in the highest degree assuring and consolatory,—that the closer the communion of the human soul with God, the more unreservedly it loves, trusts, and serves him, the more truly it will know him, the clearer will become his revelations to it of the eternally right and true, and with deeper insight will it daily penetrate into the fathomless mysteries of his awful and glorious being. From this close involution of the knowledge of God with the moral experiences of the human soul, it results that a Divine Life will teach us more respecting him than the sublimest philosophy. The presentment in act and habitual endeavour of the entire self-surrender of a human soul to God, a manifestation to the eyes of men of that perfect trust in the infinite Wisdom, Justice, and Love which springs out of this moral blending of the human and the divine, inspires through natural sympathy a faith in that which sense cannot touch and reason cannot demonstrate; carries the mind through this beautiful moral phenomenon to something more beautiful still, which lies behind it and shines through it, and opens to men the invisible way in which they must seek God, and where they will surely find him. Jesus of Nazareth uttered an eternal truth when he said, “No man cometh unto the Father but by me.” The life which he lived on earth is the only access to the heavenly life. By the habitual attitude of his soul; by his heavenward aspirations; by the aim and tendency of his whole being,—he has opened a door through the veil, and consecrated for humanity a new and living way into the presence of God. Still, even through Christ we only gain a human conception of God. But then we have an endless future before us,

in which to approximate continually towards a more perfect knowledge. Every finite being *must* look up to the Infinite Being from its own point of view, and under the conditions of its special nature, and along the narrow radius which connects its diminutive point in the vast circumference of existence with the eternal Centre of Life and Blessing. Its apprehension of its object is not rendered less true, so far as it extends, but only more real, by the very limitations under which it is possible for it to apprehend at all. Mr. Parker says, "a Beaver, or a Reindeer, if possessed of religious faculties, would conceive of the Deity with the limitations of its own personality, as a Beaver or a Reindeer."* We accept his illustration, and do not shrink from its consequences. Were these animals endued, like man, with faculties open on one side towards God, and capable of progressive approximation towards him, we should be perfectly willing to admit that their Beaver or Reindeer apprehension of God would be a true and real apprehension for them. Lord Bacon long ago remarked, that we can perceive already in the dog an incipient faith and worship directed towards the higher nature of man. If there be any who think that this view makes religion, in the language of philosophy, too much of a *subjective* thing, a mere product of man's own nature, without any corresponding evidence of *objective* reality, we would refer them to Mr. Parker's excellent chapter on Spiritual Demand and Supply. The presence in the human soul of a deep religious instinct, implies the existence of its object. Our irresistible belief in a God, assures us that there must be a God. The great Kosmos to which we belong is based, not on falsehood, but on truth. As our belief in an outward material world convinces us that there it is, though we cannot prove it, so the universal recognition by humanity of a spirit transcending all phenomena is an infallible witness of its reality, though possibly lying beyond the conclusions of our finite logic. Nay, the very diversity and limitation of human modes of belief are conclusive evidence of the reality of their common object; for unless our nature be thoroughly mendacious, that must be a truth which adheres to every form of intellectual development, and has found an expression in all stages of social progress.

Our objection to Mr. Parker's statement of his fundamental doctrine of the Infinite Perfection of God is, that he constructs it in too absolute a form, as though he had himself seized the eternal idea;—that he looks at the subject from too abstract and intellectual a point of view; and from not sufficiently recognising the fact of the progressive development of religious belief with the growth of human nature, has done injustice to the great pro-

* Discourse, &c. p. 155.

phetic teachers of Religion before him. He says of this doctrine, in his *Experience* (p. 78), with an unqualified boldness that sounds very like presumption, that "it is not known to the Old Testament or the New, and that it has never been accepted by any sect in the Christian world;" and again, in one of his *Sermons to Progressive Friends* (p. 61), that "neither in the Old Testament nor in the New do we find the God of infinite perfection." With such apparent repudiation of all obligation to the past, one is tempted to ask where Mr. Parker, then, got this idea, which he says "is the grandest thought that ever came into mortal mind, and the highest result of human civilisation." He shall himself answer that question: "Let no man claim it as his original thought; it is the result of all mankind's religious experience. It lay latent in human nature once, a mere instinctive religious feeling. At length it becomes a bright particular thought in some great mind; and one day will be the universal thought in all minds, and will displace all other notions of God."* We will not make of this passage the application which it might naturally suggest, because we do not believe it was intended; but it seems certainly to imply the writer's belief, that a point is attainable in the knowledge of God, and that he himself has reached it, of which all previous religious systems fall short, and which itself will be final and impassable. The assumption, both as to the past and as to the future, seems to us equally gratuitous. All true knowledge of God must have its source, as we conceive, in the moral consciousness; and he who first clearly shows that it is so, is the great Revealer of religious truth. Not that such revelation excludes the idea of continuous development, but that it fixes the *root* of religion in the right place, and determines the *direction* of its future growth. A revelation of this description can be made effectually, as we have already indicated, only through a life, not through a doctrine. Setting aside for the moment all theological considerations, and looking simply at the effect on human history, we should say that the special service rendered by Jesus Christ to the world is to be found not so much in the doctrines which he preached and the institutions which he was indirectly the means of founding (valuable as these are in themselves), as in the decisive *turn* which he gave to religious thought and feeling by the great example of his life and death—in opening the true fountain of religious knowledge, and pointing out to men the only way in which they can find the Father. Completing his earthly mission within the narrow limits of his native land, his thoughts, his words, his acts, took inevitably an impress from the Palestinian society in which he lived, and could not have acted on it

* *Sermons to Progressive Friends*, p. 81.

under any other condition; and we must of course allow largely for this in disengaging the seed of "life eternal" which he brought into the world, from the Judaic integuments which wrapped it round. But the seed was there, and burst through them, and impregnated other forms, and has survived with unimpaired vitality to the present day. It is the power of the *life* of Christ which still animates all creeds and all systems which exert any renovating force on the heart and conscience of men; and for this reason, that that life expresses the true moral relation between God and man, and opens a vista to the soul, through which it will ever see more and more of the Infinite Perfection of God. Mr. Parker has substituted a philosophical terminology—a terminology, however, which did not commence with him, but has been long employed by speculative theists—for the more popular anthropomorphic forms through which Jesus of Nazareth conveyed his profound religious intuitions into the soul of his brother man. But for all spiritual substance embraced within his abstract formulas, that has any vital affinity with a human soul, Parker is indebted to those earlier intuitions of a Father-God, gleaming through the love and holiness of Christ, which he puts away among the childish things of faith. We believe, however, that those intuitions will endure, because they have their origin in the permanent and imperishable part of man, ever shooting up from the one primitive root, but continually expanding into richer and more beautiful forms as they find embodiment and expression in the lives of nobler and holier men. The form into which Mr. Parker has cast them corresponds to his philosophical habits of thought, and possibly to the demands of his theological position: but it has no more claim to finality than earlier forms; and why Mr. Parker should suppose that the intellectual development of the idea of God is to cease with him, except in a form so abstract as to be wholly without moral significance, is more, we confess, than we are able to comprehend.

The confusion of religious with intellectual phenomena which pervades his reasoning on this subject, and his failure to recognise the fact that all revelation of religious truth must be imperfect which does not come through a life, has led him to make the extraordinary statement, that "Christianity, if true at all, would be just as true if Herod or Catiline had taught it."* This might be affirmed of any intellectual product. We can easily conceive of a wicked man being the discoverer of mathematical, or physical, or even ethical truth. But it is surprising that a mind acute and devout like Mr. Parker's, should not see that so delicate and sensitive an element as religious truth, not capable of direct mea-

* Discourse, &c. p. 229.

surement and appreciation by any outward standard, but springing out of the invisible converse of the soul with its Maker, must of necessity lose its essential quality in passing through a corrupt and impure medium, from the very perversion and darkening of those higher relations of humanity with God through which alone the light of religious truth can be adequately reflected. Mr. Parker, indeed, is hardly consistent with himself in this matter. He affirms Christianity to be "absolute religion and absolute morality," and to "differ in this respect from all other religions."* But how could it be this, considering the Judaic form in which it was given to the world, unless the principle of religion, perfect trust in God,—and the principle of morality, perfect self-surrender to the sense of right—(apart from any doctrines in which they might be expressed), had been the root, and, as it were, the circulating sap of the life through which Christianity was revealed? The earnestness of Mr. Parker's piety overflows the logical boundaries of his theory. His reverence for the person of Christ, in spite of phrases which may seem at first view to bear an opposite meaning, is profound and sincere. "Rarely, almost never," says he, "do we see the vast divinity within that soul, which, new though it was in the flesh, at one step goes before the world whole thousands of years; judges the race; decides for us questions we dare not agitate as yet, and breathes the very breath of heavenly love."†

This same identification of a religious with an intellectual process has obscured, it seems to us, his doctrine of inspiration. His fundamental idea, indeed, that God is immanent in his works; that his Spirit is not shut up, but flows into every soul prepared for it as freely now as into that of Moses or Jesus thousands of years ago,—we cordially accept, and believe that the theological world will ultimately own itself largely indebted to him for having so boldly and consequentially asserted it. To us there is equal wisdom and beauty in the following words.

"As God fills all Space, so all Spirit; as He influences and constrains unconscious and necessitated Matter, so He inspires and helps free and conscious Man. This theory does not make God limited, partial, or capricious. It exalts Man. While it honours the excellence of a religious genius, of a Moses or a Jesus, it does not pronounce their character monstrous, as the supernatural, nor fanatical, as the rationalistic theory; but natural, human, and beautiful, revealing the possibility of mankind. Prayer, whether conscious or spontaneous, a word or a feeling, felt in gratitude, or penitence, or joy, or resignation, is not a soliloquy of the man, not a physiological function nor an address to a deceased man, but a sally into the infinite spiritual world, whence we bring back light and truth. There are windows towards

* Discourse, &c. p. 267.

† Ibid. p. 284.

God as towards the world. . . . Each soul stands close to the omnipresent God ; may feel his beautiful presence, and have familiar access to the All-Father ; get truth at the first hand from its Author. Wisdom, Righteousness, and Love, are the Spirit of God in the soul of man ; wherever these are, and just in proportion to their power, there is inspiration from God.*

He continues ; not, we think, with the same just discrimination.

" It is plain from the nature of things that there can be but one *kind* of Inspiration, as of Truth, Faith, or Love : it is the direct and intuitive perception of some truth, either of thought or of sentiment. There can be but one *mode* of Inspiration : it is the action of the Highest within the Soul, the divine presence imparting light ; this presence, as Truth, Justice, Holiness, Love, infusing itself into the soul, giving it new life ; the breathing-in of Deity ; the in-come of God to the soul, in the form of Truth through the Reason, of Right through the Conscience, of Love and Faith through the Affections and Religious Sentiment. Is Inspiration confined to theological matters alone ? Most surely not. Is Newton less inspired than Simon Peter ? "

The concluding instance indicates the error which pervades the foregoing passage. What is the specific relation of the normal action of the highest human faculties, or of that rare and peculiar exercise of them which constitutes genius, to the Great Source of all mind, we need not here attempt to discuss. It is sufficient to see that, practically, a wide difference subsists between scientific or artistic genius, and the inspiration which we associate with the influence and working of religion. Given their data and materials, the philosopher and the poet produce their results by mental processes which can be tested and verified, and are amenable to the laws of a universal logic ; which can be controlled and directed by the will, and rendered more effective and complete by industry and cultivation. But in every form of religious inspiration there is an element of the transcendental which comes and goes independent of the will, which eludes the grasp of empirical rules, and carries us into a world beyond the reach of sensible experience. Men come to know God and understand their relation to him by a deep inward feeling, which is less clearly expressed by words than in the spirit of a life and character, and must be imparted to others more by sympathy than by instruction. This apprehension of the spiritual is latent indeed in all men, and its manifestations are subject to the general laws of the mental and material world ; so that, in this general sense, we may say with Theodore Parker that " Inspiration, like God's omnipresence, is co-extensive with

* Discourse, &c. book ii. ch. viii.

the race." But it will not be denied that this power of seizing spiritual truth, this susceptibility of religious impression, exists with a very marked diversity of clearness and intensity in different minds, and that the degree in which it exists bears no uniform proportion, as in the case of scientific or artistic genius, to a general development of intellectual faculty, but is found rather in connection with a certain type of moral qualities—humility, simplicity, purity, reverence, warm affections, childlike trust, and a straightforward adherence to the sense of right. It is by minds of this description that the presence of God is most profoundly realised, and an intuitive insight into his moral relations with the soul most distinctly possessed. Through their own strong faith they open glimpses into the invisible world, and bring out of it flashes of unsuspected light, which minds of far higher intellectual development would never have caught for themselves, although, when the revelation is once communicated, they recognise the truth which it transmitted, and deposit it henceforth among the unquestioned elements of their future belief. How many such elements have been thrown by the prophet into the world of mind, which the mere philosopher would never have detected, but which he imbibes with his mental atmosphere and mingles unconsciously with all his trains of thought! How differently would Bacon and Descartes and Spinoza have reasoned, if Jesus of Nazareth had never lived! Yet they were probably not aware of any direct obligation to him. The inspirations of religion constitute by their nature phenomena of a very peculiar kind, if not absolutely *sui generis*, in the history of our race, which have never yet been made the subject of such thorough comprehension and unprejudiced study as their vast influence on human action and happiness deserve. Dispassionate inquiry in this field might possibly yield results that would help to solve some of our most perplexing theological problems, if it were wide enough to embrace all religions, and took in such apparently abnormal cases as those of Jacob Böhme and Swedenborg. It shows a misapprehension of the point at issue, to institute a comparison between a philosopher like Newton and a simple missionary like Simon Peter. They belong to a different class of human phenomena; and we can only ascribe it to Mr. Parker's love of system, and his eagerness to uphold the uniformity of law, that he should have thought of bringing them within the limits of the same category. That both classes are ultimately reducible to some law, we do not doubt.

Mr. Parker rejects all miraculous attestation of religion. He denies the possibility of miracles, and treats every record of them as fictitious. This idea pervades all his writings, and is inher-

ent in his theological system.* Considering the positive and unqualified tone of his language, it might have been expected of him that he should define with a little more precision the particular form of the doctrine which he is combating. Miracle is a vague term, and variously understood. But he throws all who are opposed to his own theory into one class, and supposes them to hold the same view; and then attacks a position which many of them do not pretend to occupy. It is not reasonable to pass in this way at once from one extreme of opinion to another, as if there were no tenable ground between them. Besides, as a consistent interpreter of the New Testament, he ought to be able to show how the marvellous element, inwrought into its very texture, can be wholly eliminated and leave any historical substance behind. This is a critical as well as a philosophical question, and on its philological side has difficulties which cannot be escaped. We should be the last to deny the general difficulty of the whole question. We feel it strongly, and protest against absolute dogmatism on either side. To Mr. Parker's fundamental assumption that God always acts according to law—in other words, that the infinite perfection of his nature excludes the idea of all caprice, uncertainty, and contradiction in his modes of action—we can take no exception. But it does not follow that the laws already within our intellectual ken must embrace all possible laws. There are probably laws within laws only unfolded by degrees to human view; stratifications, as it were, of spiritual agency, one underlying the other, the deepest and widest of which may only *crop out* now and then on the outer surface of human affairs. To deny this seems to us a narrow dogmatism, which presumes to arrest at a certain point the development of man's acquaintance with the ways of God, and ties up by the results of a limited experience the possibilities of future knowledge. Mr. Parker's own religious philosophy, so comprehensive and spiritual, recognising God as immanent in all things, and regarding all phenomena as the continuous effect of his omnipresent and unceasing energy, should have withheld him from sanctioning even in appearance a doctrine which would limit the divine free agency. Phenomena are but the expanding manifestations of a free and ever-active life. The universe, so far as we can trace its order, seems to be a progressive development; and whether its progress result from successive crises of new creations, or from the gradual evolution through immense spaces of time of a few rudimental types into higher forms of existence, there is in either case change, transition, advance, and the introduction of new ele-

* See in particular *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, p. 113; *Additional Speeches, Addresses, &c.* p. 312.

ments into the cycle of phenomena, sufficiently marked and positive to exclude the idea of that absolute immobility in nature's order, which is sometimes assumed as a ground for denying *à priori* the possibility of any deviation from established law. In regard to every thing spiritual, extra-phenomenal, we are especially ignorant. There may be a spiritual order of things coexisting with the physical order; but of their mutual relations and inter-agencies we do not at present know enough to justify any positive denial or affirmation respecting them. We can only say that there come forth at times mysterious influences from the unseen world on the minds of men, which we cannot refer to any laws as yet accessible to us, but which permanently leave behind them influences of most powerful effect on the moral advancement of the race. Two circumstances have contributed to perplex and darken this subject: modes of thought acquired by the study of the physical sciences, and transferred at once, without any allowance for the change, to the very different region of the spiritual world; and a natural reaction against the hard, narrow, and mechanical idea of miracle peculiar to the old orthodoxy. Mr. Parker's wide range of study and spiritual philosophy should have protected him from the first of these influences; and with regard to the second, the various modifications of the miraculous theory put forth, among others, by his countrymen Furness and Bushnell, should have reminded him that there were more than two parties in this controversy, and that he might have found something worthier to grapple with than a vulgar and worn-out superstition. Indeed, he almost concedes in one passage as much as many sincere believers in Christianity would demand of him. "No man can say there was not *something* at the bottom of the Christian 'Miracles,' and of witchcrafts and possessions; I doubt not, something not yet fully understood."*

This leaves the question open for serious and devout inquiry. Religion, which makes its appeal to the soul, is not involved in the issue. One fact is well deserving of notice—that wherever in history we observe a new outbreak of religious life, it is almost always accompanied by a report of phenomena akin to the miraculous.

Mr. Parker's view of Inspiration and Miracle, and his intellectual apprehension of the Idea of God, affect, of course, his treatment of Scripture. We think that he exaggerates its deficiencies and its contradictions; and though constantly dwelling on the law of progress, does not sufficiently take it into account in explanation of those formal inconsistencies, which may always be found by those who look for them, between different

* Discourse, &c. p. 262.

stages in the historical development of an idea radically one and the same. Keeping this principle of development in view, and distinguishing between a fundamental belief and its doctrinal forms adapted to different periods of social advancement, we see no ground for the assertion that "one half the Bible repeals the other half; that the Gospel annihilates the Law; and that if Christianity and Judaism be not the same thing, there must be hostility between the Old Testament and the New Testament." In some instances he omits to consider, as he ought to do, the historical influences under which the books of the New Testament were written, and which no man more thoroughly comprehends than he; and then apparently tries them by a standard which he would not allow an orthodox believer to assume. No man knows better than Mr. Parker, that these books, the extemporised product of a great spiritual crisis, cannot be *directly* applied to questions of modern date. The following passage strikes us as exaggerated and unjust:

"The degradation of women is obvious in all forms of religion; it is terribly apparent in the Christian Church. The first three Gospels,—the last is an exception,—the writings of Paul and Peter, the book of Revelation, have small respect for women, little regard for marriage. . . . The Bible makes woman the inferior of man; his instrument of comfort, his medium of posterity. . . . Marriage in the New Testament—in the first three Gospels at least—is only for a time: 'In the kingdom of heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage.' It is a low condition here; celibacy is the better of the two."^{*}

It is true that an expectation of the approaching conversion of heaven into earth overshadowed for some generations the natural interest in secular relationships, and that reaction against the appalling sensuality of the old civilisation gave an undue value, through many centuries, to a self-denying life of celibacy. But it is not true that any record of Christ's teachings, or any reliable transmission of his spirit, has been unfriendly to the social condition of woman. On the contrary, the relations of husband and wife, of parent and child, acquired a sanctity and a tenderness unknown to any previous religion under the peculiar influence of the Gospel. The feelings in which marriage has its origin are ripened by it into a holy spiritual affection, not unmeet for transference to the heavenly world. Nay, the Virgin Saint, under fitting circumstances, has a beauty and significance of her own. The higher sentiment of chivalry, imperfect as it was, drew its inspiration from Christianity, and furnished the transition-process to that more respectful and intelligent devotion to woman as the counterpart and equal

* Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 135.

associate of man, which, through the ever-deepening power of true Christian love, is becoming more and more the happy distinction of our age. Much that sounds harsh and unjust in Mr. Parker's language must be traced to his abhorrence of the blind, idolatrous Bible-worship of the churches. His sense of the monstrous errors which this has brought into Theology, and of the miserable uncharitableness with which it has infected all the intercourse of life, fills him with a hostility that knows no bounds; so that, in his zeal to demolish a stupid and grievous error, his heedless hand does not always spare things holy and tender associated with it. Yet he is never at heart irreverent. It would be unfair to judge of him by a few vehement passages in which his iconoclastic tendencies break forth. The occasions are innumerable on which he expresses in his own way his deep love of Christ and Christianity. How hearty and genuine is this passage!—

“I reverence the Christian Church for the great good it has done for mankind; I reverence the Mahometan Church for the good it has done,—a far less good. I reverence the Scriptures for every word of truth they teach; and they are crowded with truth and beauty from end to end. Above all men do I bow my face before that august personage, Jesus of Nazareth, who seems to have had the strength of man and the softness of woman,—man's mighty, wide-grasping, reasoning, calculating, and poetic mind; and woman's conscience, woman's heart, and woman's faith in God. He is my best historic ideal of human greatness; not without errors, not without the stain of his times, and, I presume, of course, not without sin; for men without sins exist in the dreams of girls, not in real fact: you never saw such a one, nor I; and we never shall. But Jesus of Nazareth is my best historic ideal of a religious man, and revolutionises the vulgar conception of human greatness. What are your Cæsars, Alexanders, Cromwells, Napoleons, Bacons, and Leibnitz, and Kant, and Shakespeare, and Milton even,—men of immense brain and will,—what are they all to this person of large and delicate intellect, of a great conscience, and heart and soul far mightier yet?”*

In his *Discourse* there is a beautiful passage, full of earnestness and piety, about the Bible, which we regret that we have not space to extract, but which we are sure the reader will thank us for asking him to compare with the foregoing.†

The intense earnestness of Theodore Parker's mind, entirely possessed for the moment by the sense of some great evil which must at all hazards be demolished and swept away, leads him unconsciously into a onesidedness and partial injustice, which is as conspicuous in his judgment of men and institutions as in his dealings with opinions opposed to his own. He sees nothing but

* Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 264.

† Discourse, &c. p. 302.

the error, and speaks accordingly. His condemnation of the churches and clergy of his country is sweeping and unqualified. We do not wonder that he should be regarded in some quarters as a hard and violent man,—simply destructive and dangerous. It must be confessed, he never spares the sore places where men are most sensitive; and that sometimes, in the vehemence of his hostility to wrong, he assumes undue merit to his personal efforts, and fails to render fair discriminative justice to others. His friend Dr. Edward Beecher once gave him a wise and faithful rebuke on this head.* Yet the evils which he combats are great and menacing, and demand a fearless voice like his to denounce and disperse them. He entered life with a perfect faith in God and Truth—with a religious conviction, that only in Justice and Freedom, and the intrepid admission of unchecked progress in all the directions of human thought and action, could the foundations of his country's greatness and prosperity be securely laid. But when he came into contact with men and things as they are, he found access to the all-perfect God, and to the only true Religion, obstructed by a scrupulous and timid Scripturalism, which crushed instead of nourishing the spiritual life; and the practical agency of the churches not employed in extending and strengthening, and consistently realising, the great principle of human brotherhood, but limited to narrow sectarian ends, hemmed in by the prejudices and interests of the moneyed classes, and palliating, instead of condemning and opposing, the great national sin of Slavery. In Theology and in the Church he saw a hindrance, rather than a help, to human advancement. His manly, straightforward nature could not brook what he regarded as dishonest compromise in all the great transactions of Society. He abhorred the prevalent want of consequentiality and thoroughness in the carrying out of principles distinctly avowed. There was constant talk of Freedom, without its fruits; and a great profession of Protestantism, without working out any of its legitimate results. Hence the indignant scorn with which he overwhelms the divines and preachers of his day, in language honest as his own heart, but often indiscriminate, and sometimes unjust. He complains particularly of the Unitarians as a class for not going along with himself in the fearless and consequential application of principles which he had imbibed from them, his earliest instructors; for their inquiring freely up to a certain point, and then arbitrarily stopping short; for their acknowledging and denying in the same breath an outward authority in Scripture,

* In an article inserted in the *Commonwealth*. Parker, with characteristic nobleness, printed this censure on himself entire in a note to his sermon entitled "The New Crime against Humanity," published in the second volume of *Additional Speeches, Addresses, &c.* p. 122.

on no conceivable principle but the demands of their own doctrinal system; for their occupation of an unjustifiable middle position between the servile followers of the Letter on one hand, and those who throw themselves frankly on the free Spirit of God on the other. He draws a disparaging comparison between the state of hopeful and fearless aspiration which sprang up in his youth, when the Spirit of Free Inquiry first awoke under the influence of Channing, and the cold reactionary conservatism which in his latter days had frozen up the genial current of spiritual life. His language on this subject is strong and condemnatory. But the fault may not be wholly on one side. He seems incapable of understanding minds differently constituted from his own. He judges other men by himself. He knows not what it is to doubt and to hesitate. He is essentially a dogmatist. All questions resolve themselves with him into a right and a wrong, a true and a false. When he has once made up his mind which is which, he goes to work as if no middle view, no intermediate course, were possible. All indecision and uncertainty seem to him, from that time forth, a positive dereliction of duty. He cannot conceive how men may proceed to a certain length in a course of inquiry and a course of action, and then, when all the consequences of further persisting in it open clearly before them, begin to be honestly apprehensive, and from inability to reconcile those consequences with the preservation of a truth which they feel to be inestimably precious, may be impelled conscientiously to retrace some of their later steps, and be thrown back into the ranks of conservatism. Such men can never be reformers. They are deficient in what we call nerve. Possibly there may be too large an infusion of prudence and caution in their mental temperament. But, like Erasmus at the era of the Reformation, they are not necessarily wanting either in probity or in intelligence: nay, they may often see mischiefs and perils ahead, which the more sanguine and impetuous overlook; and, however for the time they may be scorned and slighted by the movement-party, the dead-weight of their fears and their prejudices sometimes affords a seasonable counterpoise to the impetus of sweeping innovation. With regard to speculative truth, men of a positive cast of mind often fail to perceive that inability to decide, where there really is an equilibrium of reasons, is the state of mind most truly corresponding to the extant evidence, and most befitting the spirit of a philosopher. An ardent, practical character can hardly comprehend this. It suspects want of honesty, when there may be only want of insight or of a clear conviction of duty. Theodore Parker is never intentionally unjust. The generous humanity of his nature continually interposes an exculpatory word or two amidst his harshest judgments.

In fact, two natures seem constantly battling within him—the stern reformer, unyielding and inexorable, and the simple man, sweet and gentle at heart, imbued with all a brother's tenderness and compassion for his brother man. There are many beautiful passages, full of this merciful and condoning spirit, even in works where he exercises with rigid severity the functions of a judge. We know nothing in its way more pathetic and touching than the concessions with which he softens the peroration of that terrible λόγος ἐπιτάφιος once pronounced by him over the fallen Webster.*

We have desired to state without reserve, in the foregoing observations, what we think defective and mistaken in the opinions, and objectionable in the language, of Theodore Parker, lest it should be supposed that our hearty admiration of him proceeded from a blind adoption of all his views, and an insensibility to some marked imperfections of character and intellect. Granting all these, we do not hesitate to pronounce him one of the noblest of living men, and one of the truest reformers that God has raised up in our age for the rebuke of theological errors and the redress of social ills. His works are a vivid impress of the man, traversed in every direction by a rich vein of genuine poetry, and glowing with the native light of a fervid Christian piety. We wish that we had room to substantiate our assertion by copious citations. A very few must suffice as a specimen. We take them just as they offer themselves at this moment to our recollection. How beautiful is this thought of Death! how full of truthful, loving faith, though clothed in his peculiar phraseology!

“Men talk of death, and say it is a dreadful thing to come into the presence of the Living God. Are we not always in thy presence, O Living Father? Are not these flowers thy gift? And when I blossom out of the body, and the husks of the flesh drop away, is it a dreadful thing to come into thy presence, O Living God?—to be taken to the arms of the mother who bore me?”†

What a depth of religious feeling there is in the close of the first of the Four Sermons preached to Progressive Friends!

“All around us lies the world of matter, this vast world above us, and about us, and beneath: it proclaims the God of Nature; flower speaking unto flower, star quivering unto star, a God who is resident therein, his law never broke. In us is a world of consciousness; and as that mirror is made clearer by civilisation, I look down and behold the Natural Idea of God, Infinite Cause and Providence, Father and Mother to all that are. Into our reverent souls God will come as the morning light into the bosom of the opening rose. Just in proportion as we are faithful, we shall be inspired therewith, and shall frame ‘con-

* Printed in the 1st vol. of *Additional Speeches*, &c.

† Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 86.

ceptions equal to the soul's desires,' and then in our practice keep those 'heights which the soul is competent to win.'"

We have space for only one more extract.

"Religion—that will not fade out of the human heart : sooner shall yonder sun, which those clouds only hide, fade out of heaven. No! With every advance of man, religion shines brighter and brighter, leading onward to its perfect day. Out of this chaos of theology how beautifully comes up the manly, and mild, and trusting faith of Jesus of Nazareth! Far off, severed from us by two thousand years of time and five thousand miles of space, we see him with his beatitudes, his parable of the Good Samaritan, of the Father who went after his prodigal son, having more joy in his heaven over the one sinner that repented than over the ninety-and-nine that never went astray. How beautifully comes up that young Nazarene, proclaiming the one religion,—love to the Father, and love to the Son—to man here on earth, for mankind is the Son of God!

Coming out of the popular theology, I feel as one who has wandered long in some dark, subterranean, mammoth cave, where the sound of running water was thunderous and sad—lit by uncertain torches, led by wandering guides—where lifeless stones grinned as horrible monsters at him, and he hesitated and stumbled at every step—where the air was contaminated by the smoke of the torches, and his steps faltered and his heart sank. I feel as one coming out into the glad light of day, where the sky is blue over me, and the sun sheds down its golden light, and the ground is green with grass, and is beautiful with summer or with autumn flowers, fragrant to every sense.

God be thanked, that we leave the cavern behind us, with its smoky lights, its paths that lead to wandering : that God's heaven is over us, and his ground is under our feet, his eternity is before us, and his Spirit in our spirit."

Disowned by the majority of his clerical brethren, and excluded from their pulpits, Mr. Parker has availed himself of this involuntary extrication from the trammels of professional etiquette to adopt in his sermons a style of singular boldness and originality. He never sacrifices strength to grace or taste; and if a word or a phrase is likely to prove effective, he never scruples to use it, however rough and startling it may sound. But his intense earnestness, and a deep indwelling soul of beauty and tenderness, are irresistibly attractive, despite all violations of conventional decorum. In his sermons he tells stories, introduces characters with odd names and imaginary conversations, and describes scenes from nature and common life with all the freedom, and not rarely with the picturesque power, of a novelist. Old Latimer himself could not more familiarly discourse with his audience. In denouncing the dark and terrible dogmas of the Calvinistic system, he does not shrink from the harshest and

* Theism, Atheism, &c. p. 101.

most offensive comparisons. When we read such passages as the following, we do not wonder to hear of orthodox divines meeting in solemn conclave, to pray that the Almighty would darken his understanding and confound his speech, that he might no more breathe forth such horrible blasphemies.

"Such ill-entreated souls often grow idiotic in their religious sense, or else therein stark-mad, and penned up in churches and other asylums, mope and gibber in their hideous bereavement, thinking 'man is totally depraved,' and God a great ugly devil, an almighty cat, who worries his living prey, tormenting them before their time, and will forever tear them to pieces in the never-ending agony of hell."*

Fastidious and sensitive natures will be repelled by a certain vehemence and exaggeration both of speech and act with which Theodore Parker is on many occasions justly chargeable. But some onesidedness of thought, and an undue tenacity of will, are almost essential to the work of a reformer. When deep-rooted errors and evils have to be torn up and cast away, the concentrated force of a strong mind must be directed against them. The efficiency of its stroke would be enfeebled if it were held back by scrupulous consideration for the feelings of parties interested, or by fear of possible consequences. When in after times men perceive the good that has resulted from this unsparing riddance, they are not disposed to take too exact an account of a few harsh words and vehement measures, wrung from an earnest mind in the exciting crisis of some great action. Who would now endorse all that Milton and Luther wrote and did in the heat of controversy? Yet we forget these errors of temper and judgment in the splendid results of their struggle for truth and freedom. To the last of these great men Mr. Parker seems to us to bear some resemblance. He has the same massive strength of intellect and will; the same high trust in God, and fearlessness of consequences; the same poetical temperament; the same devotional fervour; the same scholarly habits of mind and reverence for learning; and withal, under a similar roughness of outward bearing, the same loving and affectionate nature within. The wide difference of their position and work need not blind us to an essential affinity in their genius. Mr. Parker's appetite for knowledge is insatiable. He is indeed a perfect *helluo librorum*. His library is said to be the richest private collection of books in Boston. Considering the constant toil and struggle of his public life, it is wonderful how he should have found time to read so much. We suspect, however, from some indications in his writings, that his learning is more varied and comprehensive

* Fourth Sermon to Progressive Friends, p. 94.

than exact. But he has gained from it a breadth of view that has been of eminent service to him in his particular vocation of a religious reformer. Perhaps no man in America is more extensively read in the great philosophers and theologians of Germany; yet the result has been a type of character very different from the ordinary *Gelehrte* of that very learned country. This has arisen from the constant application of Parker's learning to life, and his daily contact with the realities of the world. With him learning has not evaporated in refined doubts and recondite speculation, but has nursed a profound faith, and a fervid yet practical humanity. The fact is worth notice, as pointing to the obvious cure of much of that aimless and unfruitful scepticism by which the learned intellect of Germany has been so deeply infected. Freedom of thought generates mental disease, unless it is balanced by freedom of action. We think it fortunate for America, that the man who in future generations will doubtless be looked up to as one of her greatest reformers and instructors, should possess such scholarly tastes and attainments. The example will exert a salutary and refining influence on her future civilisation. Mr. Parker has filled up a failing part in the preliminary agency of the great and good Dr. Channing. Channing awakened the spiritual life, and diffused great principles, which found a reception at once, as they are still finding all over the world, in every open mind and pure heart. But he left untouched the difficult question of the connection of those principles with the sacred writings which he accepted as the depository of true religion. He did not possess the particular kind of learning which would have fitted him for the task. But the task could not ultimately be evaded. Sooner or later it must be accomplished; and Parker undertook it. That he has solved the problem which it presents, none will affirm. That he has often been rash, and wanting in thoroughness and discrimination, all must admit. But he entered on his work with courage and honesty; and he has given an impulse to theological inquiry which can never be reversed, and out of which future scholars will draw more complete and satisfactory results. With the strongest popular sympathies, and a devoted attachment to freedom in the largest sense, and thrown not unfrequently into vehement antagonism with the rich and educated classes of his countrymen, Parker's scholarly habits of mind, and historical breadth of view, have always kept him from stooping to the low arts and the levelling tendencies of the ordinary democrat. His nature is at bottom essentially noble and gentlemanlike; his spirit lofty and pure. In his harshest outbursts of passionate indignation, you never discern a trace of what is mean and vulgar. Altogether his

cast of mind is historical; and in this he seems to us distinguished from Francis Newman. Inferior to Mr. Newman in logical acuteness and subtlety, and perhaps in tenderness and refinement of spiritual taste, he has the advantage over him in the poetical and historical faculty; and this mental temperament, combined with his practical experience, has given him on the whole, notwithstanding some extravagances of expression, a sound view of the meaning and value of the Bible, and secured his substantial faith in Christianity. But it is the moral and religious qualities of his nature which constitute his distinguishing excellence—his courage, his honesty, his perfect truthfulness, his inflexible justice, his comprehensive humanity, his affectionateness and simplicity, his almost childlike trust in God and assurance of immortality. When the controversies in which he has been involved have passed away, and the passions of which he has been the object are forgotten, these qualities will shine out unobscured in the remembrance of his noble and heroic character, and find a lasting place in the love and reverence of all good men.

What should be the bearing of Christian churches towards this man of devout and Christian soul, of holy, earnest, and Christian life? The majority of his native churches have already answered this question, in the wrong sense, as we think, and to the injury of their own highest influence on the world. They have denied his title to the Christian name; and some whose avowed and hereditary principle had been his earliest stimulus to think freely, and with whom he might naturally have claimed a denominational affinity, have refused to hold out to him the right hand of fellowship and call him brother. He stands, therefore, in great measure alone among the churches of his country, recognised here and there by some insulated and independent spirit out of all Christian persuasions, and provoking inevitably by sheer contrast the invidious inquiry, whether the work of Christianity is the most efficiently discharged by those who assume as of right, or by those who are denied, the Christian name. It will be a fatal day for the existing churches, when numbers of brave, earnest, and devoted men, who faithfully represent the spirit, and are laboriously accomplishing the mission, of the primitive Gospel, shall be excluded from their communion in consequence of some imagined technical informality in the terms of their admission. Good men have said to us, "We wish we could acknowledge Mr. Parker as a Christian; there is so much in him that we truly admire." We doubt not, the difficulty is conscientiously experienced; and all honour be to conscientiousness in every form. We are sure, there are many who would gladly open their arms wider, if

they were not kept back by a feeling, that in doing so they would let Christianity escape from their grasp. The question is now becoming a vital one, and it deserves serious consideration, whether we do not gratuitously hamper ourselves by too narrow a definition of Christian belief, and whether the richness and freedom of the Christian life are not injuriously hemmed in by the artificial constructions that we have set up for its defence. Arguments are used in books on the Evidences which do not appear in the oldest Apologies. Even at the time of the Reformation, and in some of the earliest Protestant Confessions, we find the work of the Spirit in converting the soul more insisted on as the main thing, than the acceptance of proofs which the learned devised, and only the learned can appreciate. The scrupulousness of theology has raised difficulties which an open and natural faith would never have felt, had the simple message of Jesus been left to produce its unaided impression on the human heart. The consequence is that we think more of a certain class of evidence, arbitrarily selected, than of the one only important conclusion; we attach more value to the process than to the result. Many a man, barred by these artificial hindrances, halts at the threshold, and never enters the temple. Surely, if he gets to Christ, has his spirit, and does his work, we ought not to be very particular about the way. For ourselves, we practically solve the question thus: we regard every man as a Christian who sees in Christ himself an expression of true religiousness,—of the true relation between God and man; and whose own life and temper are such, that Christ, were he now on earth, doing his work amidst the altered relations of our modern society, would accept him as a disciple and fellow-worker. Some persons ask, Why should men be so anxious to keep the Christian name? There are good and devout men outside the Church's pale. Why can we not recognise each other on each side of the line without all this sensitiveness about a common denomination? The question implies a strange unacquaintance with some of the deepest feelings of the heart. They who put it, little know how dear is the Christian name to many whose speculative belief widely diverges from their own—how dear are all the associations of the Christian Church—how cherished the memory of its prayers, its hymns, its ordinances—how sweet the thought of spiritual communion with Christ, and with thousands of good and holy men who have lived in his faith and wrought in his spirit through the long conflict of the ages with human guilt and woe. And to be shut out of this blessed converse and companionship as aliens and intruders, and classed externally with those who are perhaps hostile to the very cause for which we would gladly live and die, is in our

view a great spiritual injustice, which finds its only excuse in the blindness of those who would perpetrate it, to its real character.

The world is slowly opening its eyes to the necessity of greater breadth and comprehensiveness in the bonds of Christian communion; and these liberal tendencies are not confined to any denomination. Nothing wider in principle, or nobler in spirit, can be conceived than the recommendation of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, at this time the most popular orthodox preacher in America, in his *Life Thoughts*: "You are to accept as a Christian every one whose life and disposition are Christ-like, no matter how heretical the denomination may be to which he belongs. Wherever you find faith, and righteousness, and love, and joy in the Holy Ghost, you are to look upon them as the stamped coin of Christ's kingdom, and as a legal tender from God to you."* The immediate Future of Christianity, especially in its more liberal and learned forms, seems to us to depend on the right solution of this question. Men who are really attached to their Religion, and can separate its substance from its forms, will not endure to see the science, the earnestness, the patriotism, and the philanthropy of the age drifting away from the Church, and powerfully organising themselves for good, in an attitude, if not of actual hostility, yet of absolute indifference to its institutions. We do not object to more limited clusters of fellow-workers, held together by a common conviction, and attracted by similarity of taste and sentiment, or coincidence of immediate object,—for wherever there is the earnestness of strong conviction, there will be fruitful working; but what we do desire to see realised, as the great want of this age, is the cheerful recognition of each other by all these separate groups of associated workers, as the inheritors of a common name and a common mission,—making Christianity, not what it now too generally is, an obstructive and dividing agency, but the healing and restorative principle of society; giving men power in their several positions, and from their different points of view, to coöperate for the extirpation of falsehood, ignorance, and wrong, and the establishment of a universal reign of knowledge, purity, and love. The foes to human peace and progress are so many and so malignant, that they require to be met by the hearty union of all good men. The Church, by which we mean the visible embodiment in worship and communion of the spiritual principle in humanity represented by Christ, has always gained strength by comprehension, and lost it by exclusion. The reason is obvious. Men can only enter into large associations through the attractive force of what is fundamental and essential. They separate into sects and schools on what is unessential and accidental.

* Quoted in the *Proceedings of Progressive Friends* for 1858, p. 116.

While they are united, the unessential falls into its just relation to the fundamental; when they mutually disown each other, as incapable of joint action, the unessential is artificially forced up into undue prominence, and becomes for the time, to those who are associated under it, the essential. Men are choice and delicate in selecting the elements of their Church, and are jealous of what they consider its purity. But purity in this sense may be purchased at too dear a price: it can never replace a tithe of the spiritual strength that is lost by the exclusion of one earnest and devout heretic like Theodore Parker.

ART. VII.—ENGLAND'S POLICY IN THE CONGRESS.

Fraser's Magazine for December. Last Article.

In an article entitled "A few Words on Non-intervention," published in the December Number of *Fraser*, Mr. Mill has spoken as freely, forcibly, and weightily as he is wont to do, on the necessity of clearing up from misapprehension abroad and at home the principles which should guide the foreign policy of England. Much of what Mr. Mill states or implies as to our prevailing national weakness or indolence in controlling or watching the action of our foreign statesmanship, and the complementary faults of our foreign ministers, indifference to or ignorance of the feelings of the nation they represent, is historically and unquestionably true; and much of what he says as to the excuse which our contemptuous indifference to being misunderstood by foreigners really gives their unthinking masses for summarily putting upon us the character of selfish and narrow unscrupulousness,—indicated by such nicknames as perfidious Albion, the polypus-arms of Britain, and so forth,—is equally just and to the purpose. From one cause or another, it is certain that neither the powers and peoples with whom we are brought in contact, nor the English people itself, nor those that act for that people in its relations with the outer world, appear to know intuitively on any particular occasion what the real gist of the policy of England should or will be, or what are the cardinal points to which that policy should hold. The imperfect soundings taken by the minister of the feeling of the country compel him to act upon sudden emergencies with a balancing and tentative uncertainty of the genuine strength of purpose and energy which he may count upon at his back. Instances may easily be noted in which the fortunes of political

parties have been more suddenly and completely inverted on the wheel by a single false motion in the external attitude of the government arising from this cause, than ordinarily happens in the gradual working out of a problem of domestic policy, of which the popularity or urgency has been skilfully gauged in debates and on the hustings. Between the fear of giving some unforeseen vantage-ground to sharp-eyed rivals at home, and the disadvantage of contending with traditional distrust abroad, our international policy has an unfortunate tendency to perpetuate a wavering, ill-defined, and contradictory character, both in conception and in execution.

There has been one case of late years in which our moral support was given at first in such pronounced and volunteered encouragement to one side in a great struggle, as to have warranted the disappointment and bitter revulsion of feeling among the partisans of that side which followed the discovery that actual help was not to be expected, and that moral support would almost be withdrawn when the greatest need came. There has been another case in which the determination not to run so far into a display of sympathy for the oppressed as to inveigle them into a hope never meant to be realised, reconciled its caution with the zeal for testifying pious disapprobation of irresponsible tyranny by the mild but ineffective expedient of withdrawing from all diplomatic speaking terms with the offending sovereign. There has also been a case in which the conviction of our adversaries that England was no readier to act in intelligible earnest than usual,—a mistake induced by the over-pacific tone of the statesmen then at the helm of England, who in their turn mistook or undervalued the national feeling on the question,—drifted ourselves and Russia into a war which would never have been provoked, had she known or been able to credit that we should oppose force to her aggressions. Had either her diplomatic dealings with the government of England, her social intercourse with the higher ranks of its polite life, or her careful study of its apparent resources for warlike purposes, enabled or allowed her to fathom the sentiments of the people, she would have weighed more carefully, before committing herself to a *casus belli*, the question whether the game was worth the cost of the candle. It would not be difficult to point to other instances of the inconsecutive, chance, happy-go-lucky sort of aspect worn by the foreign policy of England, when considered as a whole.

In the latest case of our diplomatic interventions (Lord Malmesbury's attempt towards a peaceful solution of the Italian difficulty), it certainly could not be fairly or plausibly asserted that our attitude of professed standing aloof was in any sense

a determining cause of the actual outburst of war. It is probable that nothing short of an absolute threat of impartial hostility to whichever side should first break the peace of Europe would have practically succeeded better than Lord Malmesbury's well-meant expostulations in holding back two combatants so eager for the fray: and such a threat it certainly was not incumbent on us (if, indeed, it had been justifiable on the part of any single nation) to utter. But it is clear that, from the moment when our various statesmen pledged themselves to the maintenance of an almost imperturbable state of neutrality, the efforts of any minister at reconciliation were sure to be as idle as the wind. There is a point in every species of argument at which it becomes necessary for the disputants to show each other the *ultima ratio* to which they mean to appeal: and when once that is known, it is superfluous to waste more time in discussing interlocutory issues. The first party, whether principal or mediator, who unnecessarily binds himself under no possible eventuality to outstep a certain line of conduct or argument, or to use any but a particular weapon of fence, virtually gives up whatever game he is playing to any player of less scrupulous character or more interested motives,—in short, to that party who is (for whatever reason) more *in earnest* in trying the luck of the cards.

It is difficult to lay down any positive rule by which we may be spared such undignified failures, and such an unsatisfactory reputation. Our conduct is hampered by our circumstances, our character, and our institutions. The occasion often comes when it is least thought of. The untying of a knot between two foreign nations cannot wait until the slow-thinking English people has made up its mind. If the question to be disentangled arises during the recess of parliament, it is natural that the minister should use his utmost endeavours to get it quietly settled or smoothed over before the next opportunity for political hay-making at his expense arrives, and so to leave no opening or pretext for a public sifting of dubious details. If the case occur while the session is going on, free and fair as the ventilation to which the subject has a chance of being submitted may seem, it is rarely that its treatment escapes a slight colouring in accordance with the understood partisan hopes and aims of parliamentary warfare. Except where personal character lends a convincing weight to their assertions, it is not easy to feel sure how far English statesmen are in earnest in their mode of discussing any given foreign topic upon its merits. Until some certainty upon this point is more easily attainable, the support of the English people to the line adopted on any particular occasion by one statesman or another will not be more intuitively

or promptly given than it is now. Anxious as it is, in the conduct of such matters, to be led by and to rely upon one who shall be better informed and better able to judge and act than itself, it finds few, if any, among our present generation of public men to whom it could point unreservedly as possessing the entire confidence, and representing wholly the thoughts, instincts, desires, and resolves of England in respect of her foreign relations. And in proportion as the sincerity and sufficiency of her agents is questioned at home, will their influence and weight be diminished in a Congress abroad.

Yet we must work with such tools as we have. Unless we are to retire completely within our insular shell, leave the work of the world for others to do without us, and stretch the doctrine of non-intervention into something equivalent to a permanent political quarantine, we must make up our minds to run such risks as are absolutely unavoidable of being misrepresented or ill served by our servants, and overreached, overruled, and misunderstood by those with whom we have to deal. There is all the more reason for avoiding such risks as are avoidable. If, as Mr. Mill holds, it is possible to draw up any such general instructions as may be available for use upon any specific emergency—to lay down bases of action which may be known and recognised as logically unassailable, and as those which England is determined to maintain—this should by all means be done, and in the broadest and strongest manner. Wherever a principle can be unmistakeably identified as one which marks the line of absolute right and wrong, good and evil, and of which an application must be made in the particular case one way or the other, affirmatively or negatively,—let us understand ourselves, and then let us make others understand, how far we are in earnest in demanding that this principle be affirmed and carried into action. To reduce such a process into practice indubitably presents many difficulties, and multiplies the chances of collision with powers whose views of international morality may differ from our own. But it is almost a truism to repeat, that no public principle can be won against opposition, except by the determination to assert it manfully, and that no public principle is fairly tried unless it is so won. Every step in advance may find its peculiar and unforeseen stumbling-block to clear out of the way; every step will probably be hampered with questions not outwardly bearing on the moral aspects of the case, which may tend to complicate the solution of the main problem, and even to neutralise the immediate visible effect of the gain in principle when it is made. But no gain in the wider acknowledgment of a true principle is ever so indifferent in its consequences to ourselves, as not to be worth struggling for at whatever cost we can

afford: and it follows, that in all questions involving such a principle, the habit of merely washing the nation's hands of its negation by a simple protest, whenever we can afford to do more, is the next thing in effect to joining those who enact the negation in deed.

Mr. Mill's concluding paragraph, upon the right of intervening to secure non-intervention, in the intestine quarrels of other countries where another stranger is about to interfere forcibly on one side or the other, shows at once the great practical dilemma which is sure to arise, and indicates, though only generally, the mode of meeting it:

"The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue, that the wrong side may help the wrong, but the right must not help the right. Intervention to enforce non-intervention is always rightful, always moral, if not always prudent. Though it be a mistake to give freedom to a people who do not value the boon, it cannot but be right to insist that if they do value it, they shall not be hindered from the pursuit of it by foreign coercion. It might not have been right for England (even apart from the question of prudence) to have taken part with Hungary in its noble struggle against Austria, although the Austrian government in Hungary was, in some sense, a foreign yoke; but when, the Hungarians having shown themselves likely to prevail in this struggle, the Russian despot interposed, and joining his force to that of Austria, delivered back the Hungarians, bound hand and foot, to their exasperated oppressors, it would have been an honourable and virtuous act on the part of England to have declared that this should not be, and that if Russia gave assistance to the wrong side, England would aid the right. It might not have been consistent with the regard which every nation is bound to pay to its own safety for England to have taken up this position single-handed. But England and France together could have done it; and if they had, the Russian armed intervention would never have taken place, or would have been disastrous to Russia alone: while all that those powers gained by not doing it was, that they had to fight Russia five years afterwards, under more difficult circumstances, and without Hungary for an ally."

Such intervention is always moral, but perhaps *not always prudent*; it may be inconsistent with the regard which a nation is *bound* to pay to its own safety to assert the principle single-handed. Such are the limitations which even Mr. Mill is obliged to set to the practical working of his rule, arising from the "friction," so to speak, inherent in all sublunary problems,—that indeterminable element which varies in strength with the circumstances of every particular occasion. If the balance of strength is on the side of right, then the right will prevail.

But if it is not? if the calculation of the cost, which "every nation is bound" for its own safety to make, goes to prove conclusively that we cannot afford on our own account to attempt in the special instance the enforcement by arms of the doctrine, of which we hold the negation to be utterly wicked and indefensible? if France, or whatever other ally it might be, whose help would justify our prudence in the appeal to extremes, is not to the fore,—what is then to be done? What possible course can be taken which may gain any thing for the cause of fair play? At least this. Put on record not only the protest, but the reason why it is a protest only. Let it be known and felt that we would interfere on that behalf, if we could do so with a reasonable prospect of success; and that wherever we can, we will. Instead of satisfying our own vanity by the assumption that it is not because we are afraid that we do not interfere, but by virtue of an absolute business rule of neutrality except where England's interests are immediately engaged, let us have the moral courage to say in so many words that we are afraid; and to show by our demeanour, that it is only from want of confidence in our own strength to carry the struggle to the end, that we look on for the present at what we cannot and will not approve. The real increase of risk in taking up such an attitude would not, under any circumstances, be as considerable as it might seem; and the probabilities that on any fresh instance of clearly wrongful intervention some other power would be ready to join us in our protest, or even to take the initiative in a more active measure, would be incontestably increased by the previous assurance of our readiness to assert our principles in unison with any sufficient ally holding the same. It is not, in truth, by the preponderating force of a single power, brought to bear materially upon a wrongdoer a little weaker than itself, that the dominion of an international principle is imposed. A campaign may end in a victory, and the actual struggle be determined in this way, between the parties and for the occasion; but it is by the moral weight and increasing momentum of a conviction gradually permeating the majority in the council or battle-field of civilised states, that the permanent conquest of opinion, the addition of a new article to the slowly-written code of the comity of nations, is securely won.

Of the current question of the reorganisation of Italy, France has said already that the day of armed foreign intervention in the internal affairs of that peninsula has gone by for ever. According to the treaties of Villafranca and Zurich, the ducal dynasties are still not accepted as defunct, and are (let us say, for want of a better word) restorable; according to the words of the French Emperor, neither they, nor any other foreign do-

mination, are to be imposed upon Italy by force. What, it has been asked, is the need or use of our professing a readiness to intervene for the purpose of affirming or enforcing a proposition which France has volunteered already, and which she can affirm as easily by herself? It may, perhaps, be too sanguine to hope, even after Lord John Russell's loud and early declarations as to the terms upon which alone England would be ready to take part in a Congress, and the consequent interchange of private parleys which have resulted in our actual agreement to do so, that our ministers have succeeded in making it more or less clear to themselves to what extent the Emperor's words are to be construed as identical with a pledge that the free-will of the Italians shall not be forced in any way. After the curious comment upon the value of the phrase of "Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic" supplied by the treaty of Villafranca, it was certainly not unreasonable to inquire categorically what the latest Napoleonic idea of the reconciliation of Italian freedom with the maintenance of those bases of agreement, which it was the ostensible task of the Congress to scrutinise, might chance to be. But it could scarcely be expected that the scheme of a confederation of the remaining and the restored Italian dynasties should have been avowedly supplanted in the projects of the French Emperor before the ink of Zurich was well dry; and it is useless to inquire what other alternative arrangement may have lain from the first in that *altâ mente repostum*. Yet it may be inferred, from the latest change of demeanour on the part of the French press, and from other indications of the political atmosphere of the imperial circle, that the French government is for the moment genuinely anxious to keep upon good terms with England on this and on other questions. If we have treated our mysterious imperial neighbour to a straightforward, open, and earnest explanation of the policy which it is our intention to adopt in the Congress, it is still not out of place to hope that a general concurrence on his part may be looked for, if the preliminary contradictions of the private settlement with Austria are once swept away.

It is hardly necessary at this juncture to labour the point, that in reality the truest interests of France, England, and Italy coincide. It is at least as much for the benefit of France, and therewithal for the personal benefit of the sovereign now ruling in France, as it can be for our own, that Italy should be able to guide herself without even French leading-strings, and should add a compact and considerable make-weight to the family of European powers. In regard of the unalloyed beneficial effect which the formation of a strong kingdom of North and Central Italy would have upon the Italians themselves, it is hardly too

much to say, that no single educated Englishman who has thought on the subject, and watched the events of the last half-year, feels any hesitation either of judgment or sympathy. The first December Number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, that warily but unflinchingly maintained camp of refuge for liberal thought and feeling in France, affords sufficient testimony that from both of these points of view the section of French opinion which, for its moral and intellectual accuracy, is best worth regarding, coincides with our own. If the momentary pride in the military brilliancy of *la belle guerre* has yet sobered down among those who welcomed back the army of Italy, the reflective side of the French temperament may already have begun to recognise generally, that the real and solid glory to be gained in the Italian cause lies, not in the memory of Solferino, but in establishing through the Congress of Paris the only permanent result which can justify the countless expenditure of human life, energy, sorrow, and pain, of which Solferino was the type and the close. Whatever support can be given by ourselves, or by such expressions of public opinion as the French people is competent to utter, to that simple, straightforward, and only satisfactory solution which the French Emperor, whether he wish it in his secret heart or no, is precluded by diplomatic engagements and ecclesiastical ties from originating, it is our duty and our interest, as it is that of the French people, to give in the most emphatic manner. Whatever motives may have induced the imperial assent to those conditions which affect the *régime* of Central Italy, neither motives nor conditions are ours to be bound by, and it is now idle to dissect them too closely. Our task, after once entering into Congress as revising authorities of the diplomatic status of Italy, is to oppose the sternest resistance of common sense and common justice to the ratification and enforcement of those conditions by Europe; and to veto the substitution of any *mezzo termine* that may dislocate that union for which the Italians have pronounced so unanimously, which they have virtually accomplished, and which they have calmly, prudently, and patiently done every thing permitted them to render permanent and secure.

It cannot be too often repeated, that the true work of a Congress is not to pull to pieces and reconstruct *de novo* the map of Europe upon arbitrary principles, nor even upon plausible and apparently logical grounds. A Congress has no more right than the youthful Cyrus to assign, upon equitable considerations, the short boy's long coat to the tall boy, and the tall boy's short coat to the small boy; it must deal with things as it finds them, and take cognisance of accomplished facts as well as of signed documents. Those who quote as a crucial instance the prece-

dent of the Congress of Vienna, to prove by custom the jurisdiction inherent in European congresses, as enabling them to do something at once more actively arbitrary and more authoritatively binding in the transfer of title than can be done by individual states without the use of material force, omit to take into account the general disruption of historical boundaries, and the contradictory maze of inchoate titles to various national estates all over Europe, caused by the wars of the French republic and empire. The parties to the Congress of Vienna had to act as a kind of encumbered estates court, and confer a fresh title, which should thenceforward be clear of all the registered or unregistered claims and charges of past history. Such an exceptional compulsory jurisdiction was only justified by the necessities of the time; and it cannot for a moment be pretended that a similar entanglement in kind or degree is the characteristic of the Italian question of 1860. The complication of the problem is not one which has to be met, but one which has to be made. The question has worked itself clear, if the Congress will only keep it so, and not attempt the restatement of it in the old confused terms. The plenipotentiaries of the powers met in Paris have no more legitimate authority to reparcel out into the old or modified subdivisions, for the convenience of European or particular interests, those Italian provinces which have achieved their own independence and declared their own union, than the encumbered estates court has to force within its own bar the property of the first reluctant and solvent landowner, and compel him to sell it in small building-lots for the public advantage and the individual profit of chance speculative purchasers.

If, notwithstanding the presumed concord as to the bases of the meeting, England should in congress perceive that her name and weight are to be used for the purpose of adding authority to any such proceeding as this, what is the course for her to adopt? It may be hoped that our plenipotentiaries will have the clearest instructions and the most definite understanding on this head. It is not by a mere note of protest or expression of dissent, nor by the most strenuous and efficient advocacy in argument alone, that the sense of England would be adequately given. It is not even by a flat refusal to continue the deliberations under the conditions involved in such a contingency,—not even by throwing the whole responsibility of a wanton and arbitrary assumption of judicial power, the whole scandal and difficulty of execution, upon such parties as might be ready to take it up, and simply withdrawing into the cover of a disapproving neutrality,—that our national duty would be fully satisfied. For the reasons generally indicated above, it is impossible to lay down categorically beforehand any scheme

of active measures which, under the particular circumstances of such an eventuality, it might be prudent and right to take. But we do say, that this is one of the cases in which the very amplest reserve of England's freedom and power to act in any way that she might judge right under any complication arising from such a course of action on the part of the Congress, should be expressly and solemnly claimed in her name. We should not only keep ourselves innocent of the doing, and steadily disapprove the deed, but we should show ourselves ready and watchful to take advantage of any ulterior possibility, and to use at our discretion any legitimate means for annulling the consequences of an illegal transaction. There is little doubt that the thinking mass of the English nation is prepared to take at least this responsibility upon itself; and equally little doubt, that by this demeanour its influence as well as its honour will be best consulted in the approaching deliberations.

It may not impossibly be asked in the Congress as well as out of it,—if England is not only so clear on the point of her own duty and policy, but so determined not to bate a jot of her own ideas and opinions in deference to the opinions and ideas of others,—what, in her view, is the use of a Congress at all, except to endorse the fiat of England? If she starts by refusing to concede the reasonableness or feasibility of any solution but one,—and that, by the way, one in furtherance of which she has not hitherto spent a farthing or raised a finger,—how can she expect that any concession will gracefully be made in her direction, either by those who have already relinquished somewhat through the ill fortune of war, or by those who have tried the hazard boldly and unsparingly, and who have accepted loyally, in full satisfaction of their demands for Italy, such advantages as the good fortune of war gave them? If the plenipotentiaries of every nation to be represented in the Congress are to come alike provided with no margin to their positive instructions, and with no spirit of conciliation or pliancy in their general views, how is it possible that they should ever agree? Had the reconstitution of Central Italy been a question of detail, or of the simple expediency of any particular political arrangement within the undoubted competency of the forum of the great Powers of Europe, the objection to an over-jealous and dogmatic obstinacy of demeanour would be cogent enough. But the question is not one of detail, but of principle; not of expediency and convenience, but of the actual and acquired rights of a nation; not arising out of any unquestionable mandate of divine right inherent in the several kingly *personæ* or popular sovereignties of Europe when met together, but involving in itself the very root, and marking the very limit, of the juris-

diction which in their corporate capacity they can exercise. It is true, that England has spent neither blood nor money in active struggle for the cause of Italian liberty and union; true, that twelve months ago she was ready to look with the gravest and coldest suspicion on the unselfishness and sincerity of those who were forcing the question to a violent issue; and that her present attitude of hearty sympathy may well appear in extravagant contrast with her former professions of standing aloof to those who do not care to investigate, or who cannot appreciate the logic of her motives: but the issue raised in the quarrel between Austria, France, and Sardinia, whether as stated in the preliminary pleadings of the diplomatic correspondence, or as solved in the verdict taken by consent at Villafranca, was a very different one from that which has since been brought into the court of appeal of European opinion. The French Emperor was perhaps not far from the truth (though in a sense in which he did not intend his words to be taken) when he explained his acceptance of the Villafranca conditions by asserting that the dimensions of the struggle were enlarging themselves incommensurately with particular interests of France. Although the actual dimensions, as a matter of *gros bataillons*, were not grown, and would not have grown, beyond what a careful counting of the cost might have enabled an acute player to anticipate from the commencement of the game, the moral direction of the struggle was altering, and its moral importance growing, while the specific interests of France were not widening in proportion. As soon as the tendency of the Central Italians to take their destiny into their own hands became apparent through the impotence of the feelers thrown out in behalf of the Emperor's cousin, the critical point of real interest transferred itself from the open plains of Lombardy to the cities of the Duchies and the Romagna, and the critical weapons were changed from the simple method of crossed bayonets to the development of earnest thought and will within those cities. Whether or no Victor Emmanuel and his Piedmontese councillors were rightly chargeable with inordinate personal ambition in provoking Austria again to stake her supremacy in Italy on the sharpness of her sword, is a question which it has become nugatory to ask or answer, in the face of the attitude so steadily taken and maintained by the peoples of Central Italy. Not that the gain of eight millions in the place of three makes any difference in the subjective purity of motive, or justifies an immoral ambition as salutary, on the ground that the consideration was comparatively so much better worth the grasping. But the unanimity of the Central Italians, expressed in a dignified and solemn choice through the mouths of those who were at once their freely elected repre-

sentatives and their most natural and fitting leaders by station and education, has not only reflected in some sort a different colour on the personal behaviour of the King of Sardinia from the beginning, but has radically altered the point of view from which impartial bystanders must judge the morality and the rights of the case. It is no longer a question of greater or less aggrandisement of the house of Savoy, but of the free exercise of the reasonable instinct of a people, left with no contradictory *de facto* allegiance to restrain and hamper its expression.

The moral position which Victor Emmanuel might have assumed before a Congress, in regard of the provinces of Central Italy, at the date of the peace of Villafranca, differed as widely from the relation he bears to them now, as the position of the Prince of Orange towards the people of England when he landed at Torbay, from his relation to them when the estates of the realm had tendered the crown of England to William and Mary at Whitehall. The transfer of the allegiance of Central Italy is as much an accomplished fact as the palpable and entire loss of power by the Grand Dukes and the Pope in the Duchies and the Romagna: and of this fact the first and main legitimate business of the Congress is to take official cognisance. The iron crown of Lombardy has, if we are not mistaken, accompanied the retiring armies of Austria as a symbol or a trophy. But if Victor Emmanuel, "strong in the rights" (to use his own manly words) which the offer made by those several provinces has given him, does succeed in placing on his head, with the assent and recognition of the Congress, the crown of a great North Italian Kingdom, he may certainly repeat, with at least as much unmingled truthfulness as has ever been attached to its utterance on any similar occasion, the stereotyped royal phrase of *Dieu me l'a donné*.

Against this simple rule, upon which we have been mainly harping,—that an accomplished fact is not to be confounded with a theory or aspiration not reduced into action,—Mazzini has always been, and still is, a persevering offender. Any acceptance of the course recommended in Mazzini's letter of October last to Victor Emmanuel would have proclaimed the *re galantuomo* an ambitious madman, an unscrupulous gamester, careless alike of the lives of thousands and of the destinies of those states which have placed their rights in his hands, or an absolute fool. To have thrown down, as he was bid, the crown of Piedmont for that of "indivisible Italy,"—in other words, to have gratuitously invoked on his own head the whole material force of which Austrian revenge and Neapolitan rancour might dispose, while rendering it absolutely impossible for his former ally to assist him with a single Zouave or a single centime,—to

have overturned in an instant the prestige of tranquil self-knowledge and rational self-respect which has characterised the successive steps of the constituent Duchies in forming themselves provinces of a tangible and practicable united kingdom,—would have been at once an irreparable blunder and an unjustifiable crime. If there is one man in Europe who should understand by experience that peace has its victories as well as war, that man is Victor Emmanuel. The organisation of constitutional freedom and liberal government in Piedmont during the nine years of peace which followed the overthrow of Novara, has been the most indispensable condition precedent to, if not the moving cause of, the growing influence attached to his name and position within the other states of Italy; and the conquest of a stronghold of right won by him in the half year of peace that has elapsed since Villafranca is incomparably greater than any advantage which had been given him by the previous campaign, and its diplomatic close. The urgent advice of an irresponsible and impracticable dreamer was to throw back into the yawning gulf of uncertainty the gains which had been realised, and the pledges which had been undertaken :

“Vedrai che l' uom di setta è sempre quello :
 Pronto a giocar di tutti, e a dire addio
 Al conoscente, all' amico, e al fratello.”

And for what? Of the feelings of Venice there is no doubt; but it is not a whit more certain that the people of the Two Sicilies desire at this moment either absolutely to depose their reigning dynasty, or, even then, to join a kingdom containing the whole of Upper Italy, than it is certain that Canada longs to be annexed to the United States, or that the United States yearn for re-union with England. Whatever change the Sicilies may wish for, it is for them to pronounce; and not for Mazzini, Garibaldi, or Victor Emmanuel, nor for strangers in or outside of Italy. And until they have so pronounced for a change of rules or of boundaries, and carried their own decree into execution, like the inhabitants of the Duchies and the Legations, with an energy and earnestness not to be mistaken, it is the bounden duty of Europe to assume that, whatever administrative or constitutional reforms they may desire, they are content to be left within the same dynastic and territorial relations as now. If, on the other hand, the Congress resolve to treat the Central Italian provinces, which have quietly shaken off the clogs that interfered with their free action, with such measures as might be applicable to them if they were still in the gall of bitterness inseparable from the sway of the Bourbons of Naples, it will commit the very crime of arbitrary excess in the line of re-

pressive interference, which Mazzini is eager to commit in the direction of revolutionary propagandism. The reactionary conspirators will in that case unhappily have more power to carry out their own views than the republican prophet, whose extravagancies they will go as far to justify, as his scheme, if adopted, would have gone towards the palliation of theirs: and it is for this reason mainly that we have thought it necessary to analyse at such length the nature and the tendencies of the latest headstrong error of the incorrigible Mazzini.

It is now a trite observation, that the most indigestible morsel of all for the Congress to swallow will be the recognition of the independence of the Romagna. The most powerful and the most proudly unbending of all European Powers in the conclave, even were he not to appear in it by any special attorney, will undeniably be—*servus servorum*. It is impossible to draw any relevant logical distinction between the cases of the Duchies and the Legations. The concession of any alternative whatever to the Villafranca stipulations for the return of the Grand Dukes, will imply that an equal right to an equally large alternative resides in the impenitent abjurers of an infallible sovereign. Yet it is obviously more difficult for a Protestant power to interfere, with a reasonable chance of prevailing by protest or otherwise, in this special case than in any other. The plain broad ground which we have advocated as that on which England should stand all through,—that bygones are bygones, and that a Congress has no authority to reopen the questions which in the way of fact have settled themselves,—is the only ground upon which we can hope or claim to exercise upon this point an intelligible and unsuspected influence over public opinion or diplomatic deliberations. It is for the Roman Catholic Powers alone to buy off, if need be, by compensation in concordats or hard cash, the inevitable comminations of a plundered Holy Father. The spreading virulence of the Irish clamour in defence of the rights of the Head of the Church is a sufficient indication of the tone in which any special interposition of Protestant England in the matter of St. Peter's patrimony would be taken up by her adversaries. As far as our power of giving any support is concerned, the cause of the Legations will have to stand with and by that of the Duchies.

Before this paper has gone through the press, it will probably be known with more definitive or at least more official certainty who is to represent England as plenipotentiary. We have no intention of speaking disparagingly of Lord Cowley, who is understood to be selected by the Government for this purpose; but in default of any proved remarkable aptitude on his part for such a task, we could well have wished that it were intrusted

to a man whose profession was not that of ambassador at Paris. The true reasons against such a choice have been lately put forward at fuller length and more forcibly than we can reproduce them here, in one of those weighty articles, stamped with power of thought, practical knowledge, and peculiar fairness, which not unfrequently alternate with supercilious smartness in the pages of the *Saturday Review*. It is as difficult for a diplomatist habitually resident at a foreign court to retain an instinctive appreciation of the depth and breadth of the feeling of his nation upon a question which has grown into strong life by daily and homely ventilation while he has been practising political and social *finesse* abroad, as it is impossible for him to impress his familiar antagonists with a sense that he does represent the core of English opinion more directly and more inflexibly than usual. The practised facility of smoothing over little difficulties with the shallow frankness of a conventional cordiality, not incompatible with the reserve of a convenient grudge for occasional reproduction, is no good qualification for a contest, where the one pervading difficulty can neither be avoided, smoothed down, pared away, nor amicably skated over, but must be faced from the first to the last with a clearness of resolve and a promptness of demeanour, which will prove our most potent magic for the assertion and strengthening of our hereditary principle of fair play all the world over.

ART. VIII.—DARWIN ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.L.S., &c., Author of "Journal of Researches during H.M.S. Beagle's Voyage round the World." London, 1859. Post 8vo, pp. 502.

On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type. By Alfred Russel Wallace. From "Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society," July 1, 1858.

Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation. By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London, 1855. Post 8vo, pp. 503.

It has been calculated by an able naturalist,* on data which may be accepted as tolerably satisfactory, that the number of

* Swainson's Natural History and Classification of Quadrupeds, p. 28.

distinct species of Animals at present existing on the globe considerably exceeds *half-a-million*; about nineteen-twentieths of the whole being insects. Of Flowering Plants the number of species actually known to the botanist is commonly estimated at a hundred thousand; and if we include the Cryptogamia, and make allowance for the imperfect degree in which the botanical treasures of large portions of the surface of the globe have yet been searched out, the number of distinct species furnished by the vegetable kingdom would seem to be fairly set at a hundred and fifty thousand.

But even this aggregation, enormous as it is, would sink into insignificance if all the forms of organic life which have peopled our globe during the long succession of ages chronicled by the geologist, could be brought together within our mental view. For, looking to the large collection of types now extinct, which have been disinterred from a few scratches made here and there in the crust of the earth, it cannot be reasonably doubted that the whole number of fossil species of such animals as leave recognisable remains behind them must be many times as great as that of the forms which represent them at the present epoch. And if we further make due allowance for the fact, that the portion of the palæontological catalogue at present known to us really consists of but fragments of a few of the leaves of the great Stone Book, and that on the pages of that stone book a vast proportion of the past life of our planet can never by any possibility have recorded itself, we cannot fairly refuse to admit it as a probability (to which every new discovery gives additional weight), that the animal and vegetable life existing at any of that long succession of periods, each of which is marked out in geological time by a characteristic fauna and flora of its own, was at least as rich as it is at present, in regard alike to the number and to the variety of its distinct forms.

Now it seems to be a received article of faith, both amongst scientific naturalists and with the general public, that all these reputed species have (or have had) a real existence in nature; that each originated in a distinct act of creation; and that, once established, each type has continued to transmit its distinctive characters, without any essential change, from one generation to another, so long as the race has been permitted to exist. This idea of the *permanence of species*, embracing those of the common origin of all the individuals linked together by similarity of characters, and of the diverse origin of races distinguished by any marked and constant dissimilarity, is, in fact, embodied, in one shape or another, in every definition of the term which has been framed; and though some bold

speculator like Lamarck, or some ingenious theorist like the author of the *Vestiges*, has ventured from time to time to question the soundness of its basis, yet it has given no outward sign of instability, and is commonly regarded at the present time as one of those doctrines which no man altogether in his right senses will set himself up seriously to oppose.

Yet there have not been wanting indications, especially during the last few years, that a re-consideration of the whole subject is felt by several of the leading minds of our day to be called for by the progress of science; the difficulty of determining *what are* the characters as to which agreement shall be held to constitute specific identity, whilst disagreement shall be accepted as establishing specific diversity, having been found to increase instead of diminishing with the progress of knowledge. Differences of sufficient constancy and importance for the separation not merely of species, but of genera, in one group, may be found in another to be so inconstant that they cannot be admitted to rank higher than as individual varieties; and features of diversity which seem so well marked as to leave no room for hesitation when the comparison is limited to two or three individuals which exhibit them under their most pronounced aspect, are often found to shade off so gradationally when a large number of individuals are compared, that no lines of specific demarcation can be drawn among them. It has accordingly come to be recognised by many of our best zoologists and botanists, that no species can be fairly admitted as having a real existence in nature, until its *range of variation* has been determined both *over space* and *through time*; and that the species of the mere collector, who describes every form as new which does not precisely correspond with existing definitions, can only be accepted provisionally, to be verified or set aside by more extended research.*

A remarkable example of the results of an inquiry conducted in this spirit has lately made a considerable impression, alike on account of the nature of the subject and the deservedly high reputation of the naturalist by whom it has been conducted. No group of species has been more carefully or completely studied, after the ordinary fashion, than that of the British flowering plants and ferns. In Hooker and Arnott's *British Flora*, 1571 species of these were enumerated and described; whilst by Mr. Babington the number of species was raised to 1708. Within the last eighteen months, however, a new *British Flora* has been published by Mr. Bentham, one of those quiet painstaking workers who, not making fame but

* See on this subject Dr. Joseph D. Hooker's *Introduction to the New-Zealand Flora*, and Dr. Carpenter's *Memoir on Orbitolites* in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1855, pp. 277 et seq.

truth their goal, are content to spend as many years in the thorough investigation of a subject as other men bestow months. Mr. Bentham has devoted a large part of his time for many years past to the study of the British flowering plants, not as dried in herbaria, but as living and growing in their native habitats; and instead of confining himself to the area of our own islands, he has followed them to every part of Europe through which he has been able to trace them, carefully comparing the forms which they present under different conditions of soil, climate, exposure, &c., and diligently scrutinising with the educated eye of the really scientific botanist into the value of the distinctions, not merely among the species reputed doubtful, but among those commonly considered to be well established. The result has been, that not only has Mr. Bentham been led to add the weight of his authority to the side of those who pleaded for the wide range of variation in such genera as *Salix* and *Rubus*, regarding which there had been the greatest question; but he has shown that a considerable extent of variation is so far from being confined to willows and brambles, that the total number of well-marked species cannot fairly be reckoned at more than 1285; so that about a quarter of the reputed species of the British phanerogamic flora, on which so much pains have been bestowed and so many books written by botanists of the highest reputation, have been thus abolished "at one fell swoop."

Now this result, valuable as it is in itself, has a bearing of far deeper import upon the whole existing method of botanical and zoological systematisation; for it shows how far Nature is from tying herself down by the canons of species-mongers, and how mistaken has been the course of those who, instead of humbly searching for a knowledge of Nature's laws, have arrogated to themselves the right of making laws for Nature. The species of plants and animals which such men have added to our already overloaded catalogues, are of human, not of divine creation; and it is the business of the philosophic naturalist to get rid of all such as soon as possible. He cannot, however, proceed far in his inquiries, without having the question forced upon him as to the extent to which natural species,—that is to say, races which seem to be distinguished by certain constant characters that are transmitted by descent so far as our experience extends,—can be reasonably supposed to have varied *in time*, so as to have undergone in the lapse of ages, under the influence of natural causes, modifications at all corresponding with those which are presented by the races of plants and animals that have been subjected within a comparatively recent period to the influence of man.

This is a problem which Mr. Darwin has been for some years essaying to resolve. His attention was first directed to the inquiry by some facts which struck him in the distribution of the inhabitants of South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent, during that voyage on board H.M.S. *Beagle* of which he has given us so admirable a Journal. These facts seemed to him to throw some light on the origin of species—that mystery of mysteries, as one of our greatest philosophers has called it; and on his return home it occurred to him, in 1837, that something might perhaps be made out on this question by patiently accumulating and reflecting on all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing upon it. After five years' work, he allowed himself to speculate on the subject, and drew up some short notes; these he enlarged in 1844 into a sketch of the conclusions which then seemed to him probable; and from that time to the present he has steadily pursued the same object, with the intention of setting forth, not only his conclusions, but the mass of facts on which they are based, as soon as his imperfect health should permit him to complete a work so extensive. In the mean time it has happened that Mr. Wallace, an intelligent naturalist, who is at present engaged in studying the animal and vegetable productions of the Malay Archipelago, has arrived, without any knowledge of Mr. Darwin's inquiries, at a doctrine essentially the same as his own; namely, that a process of *natural selection* is constantly in operation, on a far grander scale, and with far more perfect results, than man can imitate; and that to this process, operating cumulatively through countless ages, we are justified in attributing an unlimited amount of divergence, not merely between species, but between genera, and, by parity of reasoning, even among the higher groups. A memoir on this subject having been sent to Mr. Darwin by Mr. Wallace, with a request that it should be forwarded to Sir C. Lyell, it was by the latter communicated to the Linnæan Society, and has been printed in its journal, together with extracts from Mr. Darwin's larger work; and as two or three years are likely still to elapse before the latter will be ready for publication, Mr. Darwin has complied with the urgent recommendations of his friends that he should at once put forth his views in a more concise form, so as to benefit the scientific world by such a knowledge of them as should enable them to take root in the minds of those who are not too much hardened by prejudice against their reception, and to bear good fruit by stimulating inquiry in the new direction he has opened up.

As the work before us is to be regarded but as the abstract of the larger treatise which Mr. Darwin has in preparation, we

feel it right to limit our discussion of it to an examination of the soundness of the main principle on which it is based. Minute criticism of details would, as it seems to us, be at present altogether misplaced. Indeed, we almost regret that the author has as yet gone into detail at all, since he has laid himself open to a great deal of objection on the score of minor difficulties, which will tend to prevent his fundamental doctrine from finding candid appreciation. And we cannot help thinking that it might have been better if, in this early stage of the inquiry, Mr. Darwin, like Mr. Wallace, had abstained from that explicit avowal of the ultimate conclusions to which it seems to him to lead, which will be pretty sure at once to frighten away many whom he might have otherwise obtained as adherents. Of course, if his principle be firmly based on truth, every thing that is legitimately deducible from it must also be true. But as it is in the nature of things impossible to obtain any thing like positive evidence on the remoter issues of the inquiry, we shall discard for the present all reference to the question whether (as Mr. Darwin thinks probable) men and tadpoles, birds and fishes, spiders and snails, insects and oysters, encrinites and sponges, had a common origin in the womb of time, and shall address ourselves only to the arguments urged by Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace in support of their doctrine of the modification of specific types by natural selection.

To such as look upon this question from the purely scientific point of view, any theological objection, even to Mr. Darwin's rather startling conclusion, much more to his very modest premises, seems simply absurd. We never heard of any body who thought that a religious question was involved in the inquiry whether our breeds of dog are derived from one or from several ancestral stocks; nor should we suppose that the stoutest believers in the Mosaic cosmogony would be much dismayed if it could be shown that the dog is really a derivation from the wolf. Orthodoxy (on this side of the Atlantic at least) is decidedly in favour of the abolition of the two-and-twenty species into which man has been divided by some zoologists, and of the reference of all the strongly-diversified races of man to the Adamic stock. We do not expect to see, even in our "most straitest" sectarian organs, any accusations brought against Mr. Bentham for impiety, because he affirms that three or four hundred of the reputed species of British plants are really descendants of others from which they have gradually diverged; and if he were led by the results of further inquiry to knock off as many more, we believe that he would be left to the criticism of his brother botanists, and that his *British Flora* would not run any risk of being put into the

Index Expurgatorius, alongside of Lamarck's *Philosophie Zoologique* and the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*.

Why, then, should Mr. Darwin be attacked (as he most assuredly will be) for venturing to carry the same method of inquiry a step further; and be accused (in terms which it needs no spirit of prophecy to anticipate) of superseding the functions of the Creator, of blotting out his Attributes from the page of Nature, and of reducing Him to the level of a mere Physical Agency? To our apprehension, the Creator did not finish his labours with the creation of the protoplasts of each species; his work is always in progress; the origin and development of each new being that comes into life, is a new manifestation of his creative power; and the question is simply as to the mode in which it has pleased Him to exercise that power; whether, according to common ideas, He has every now and then swept off a greater or smaller proportion of the inhabitants of the globe, and has replaced them by new forms, brought into existence in some mode altogether unknown to us; or whether, as Mr. Darwin maintains, the apparent introduction of new forms has really been brought about by a gradual and successive modification of the old. For ourselves, we do not hesitate to say that the orderly and continuous working out of any plan which could evolve such harmony and completeness of results as the world of Nature (present and past) spreads out before us, is far more consistent with our idea of that Being who "knows no variableness, neither shadow of turning," than the intermittent action of a power that requires a succession of interferences to carry out its original design in conformity with successive changes in the physical conditions of the globe. And we have no sympathy with those who, to use the admirable language of Professor Powell (whose *Essay on the Philosophy of Creation* contains a masterly refutation of the current theological arguments bearing on this question), maintain that we "behold the Deity more clearly in the dark than in the light,—in confusion, interruption, and catastrophe, more than in order, continuity, and progress."

Our knowledge as to the Variability of Species in Time is of course mainly derived from observation of the changes induced by the agency of Man, in those species of plants and animals which have been longest subjected to the influence of cultivation and domestication; and although it may be questioned how far the modifications thus induced would tend to perpetuate themselves in a state of nature, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that *the capacity for undergoing such modifications* under conditions how artificial soever, exhibits an elasticity of constitution which would equally tend to adapt these

animals to varieties of natural conditions, and thus to originate diversified races which would perpetuate themselves without man's interference. It may be well to adduce a few examples, in which peculiarities of organisation or constitution have sprung up and perpetuated themselves under the notice of competent witnesses. Such peculiarities have been ranked in two categories: those, namely, which are obviously "acquired" under the direct influence of external agencies; and those which, not seeming likely to have been thus occasioned, are spoken of as "spontaneous," or "accidental."

Of the acquirement of peculiarities, we have frequent experience in the changes which animals and plants undergo when they are transported to regions differing greatly in climatic conditions from those they previously inhabited. Thus the longest-woolled sheep that can be brought from Leicestershire or Sussex to the West Indies have their thick matted fleeces replaced in a year or two by short crisp hair; and in the lambs bred in their new country this hair is so brown as to render it somewhat difficult to distinguish them from the kids of the goats with which they are often seen associated. Sometimes the acclimatising process does not modify the character of the parent, but takes effect only on the young, born and bred under its influence. Thus, in a well-known case related by Sir C. Lyell, the English greyhounds that were taken out to hunt the hares which abound on a table-land in Mexico at an elevation of 9000 feet, were distanced in the chase by want of wind; yet the offspring of these same animals are not in the least incommoded by the rarity of the atmosphere in which they have passed their whole lives, but run down the hares with as much ease as the fleetest of their race in this country.

But peculiarities every now and then appear in the offspring at birth, which, not being traceable to any corresponding change of circumstances, are commonly regarded as "freaks of Nature;" such, for example, as the presence of a sixth finger, or of an additional joint in the thumb, on the human hand; or of that peculiar conformation of the limbs that distinguishes the "ancon" breed of sheep in New England; or the so-called "sporting" varieties of plants. No one, however, who believes in the universality of causation, can fail to perceive on reflection, that any such congenital peculiarities, like the differences among individuals of the same parentage, *must* have had their origin in the condition of the one or both parents at the time of procreation; and this inference is fully borne out by the special tendency of such peculiarities to become hereditary, though they frequently pass over a generation or two, to reappear in a subsequent one. The *latency* of such influences is often ex-

trremely remarkable; but sometimes we seem able to trace out their nature, though we cannot comprehend their mode of operation. Thus there is valid scientific evidence that the colour of the offspring of animals whose hue is disposed to vary, is influenced by strong mental impressions on the parents; and that it is in this way that variety of hue was first engendered in races previously of uniform colour, would seem to be indicated by the fact related by Mr. T. Bell, that a litter of puppies born in the Zoological Gardens from a male and female Australian dingo of pure breed, both of which were of the uniform reddish-brown hue that belongs to the race (the mother never having bred before), were all more or less spotted.

Now the art of the breeder consists first in carefully watching for this spontaneous appearance of any such peculiarities as he may deem it profitable to introduce, which then, by taking advantage of their tendency to become hereditary, especially when they are possessed by both parents, he establishes as the distinctive feature of a new race; and in this race he preserves them in full force by a rigorous weeding out of all the individuals which do not possess them. We cannot have a better example of this process than the recent creation of the Mauchamp breed of sheep, which produces a fine silky wool, distinguished by the strength as well as by the length and fineness of its fibre, and specially valuable for the manufacture of Cashmere shawls. In the year 1828, one of the ewes of the flock of merino sheep belonging to M. Graux, a farmer of Mauchamp, produced a male lamb, which, as it grew up, became remarkable for the silky character of its wool, and for the shortness of its horns; it was of small size, and of inferior general conformation. Desiring, however, to obtain other sheep having the same quality of wool, M. Graux determined to breed from this ram: at first he only obtained it in a single ram and a single ewe; in subsequent years he got it in a larger proportion of each progeny; and as his silky-woolled sheep multiplied, he was able to secure a constant succession by matching them with each other. Amongst the breed thus engendered, some resembled the ancestral ram in its physical defects as well as in its wool; but others, while possessing the same character of wool, reverted to the more symmetrical form of the breed from which this was an offset; and M. Graux, by a judicious system of crossing and intercrossing, at last established a race which not only possesses the silky wool of the first ram without the least deterioration, but is entirely free from its defects of general conformation.

The agency of Man in this procedure is that of *accumulative selection*. He can do nothing except on the basis of variations which are first given to him in some slight degree by nature

(the origin of such variations, however, being in the modifications induced by external conditions in the procreative action of the parents); these, which would soon disappear if left to themselves, by merging in the general aggregate, he not only perpetuates by selection, but augments by accumulation, adding them up (as Mr. Darwin felicitously phrases it) in certain directions useful to him. Now there are instances in which *varieties* have been thus engendered, differing so much from their original stock and from each other, that, if they were to be placed before a zoologist ignorant of their genetic relationship, he would unquestionably rank them not only as *distinct species*, but even as belonging to *distinct genera*. This is the case, for example, with the various heads of pigeons, which have been closely studied by Mr. Darwin. The English carrier, the short-faced tumbler, the runt, the barb, the pouter, and the fantail, differ from each other not merely in their plumage, but in those points of conformation of beak and skull on which generic distinctions among birds are chiefly founded; and subordinate to each of these breeds are several regularly propagating sub-breeds, which differ as much from each other in characters of minor importance as species do elsewhere. Yet there is no ground for questioning the general belief of scientific ornithologists, that all these breeds have had their origin in the rock pigeon; especially as the comparison of a large number of individuals of these breeds and sub-breeds, including those brought from distant countries, would enable an almost perfect gradational series to be formed between the types that differ most widely in structure.

It is obvious, then, that by such a process what we may designate as *Naturalists' species* might be artificially created to any extent. The question now arises, whether truly *Natural Species* can have been engendered in a similar manner; that is to say, whether any thing like accumulative selection has gone on amongst plants and animals in their feral state, by which the vast multitude of diverse forms now existing may have been evolved from a comparatively small number of original types, and that wonderful series of extinct forms may have been produced, which palæontology reveals to us as having peopled and re-peopled our globe many times through the immeasurable succession of geological ages.

The answer to this question, according both to Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace, is to be found in a careful examination of the facts relating to the Struggle for Existence which all wild animals have to maintain. "The full exertion of all their faculties and all their energies," it is observed by Mr. Wallace, "is required to preserve their own existence, and provide for that of their in-

fant offspring. The possibility of procuring food during the least favourable seasons, and of escaping the attacks of their most dangerous enemies, are the primary conditions which determine the existence both of individuals and of entire species." It is remarkable how little the relative fecundity of different species influences their relative abundance or scarcity. We do not find those populations (if we may so use the term) increasing at the greatest rate, whose reproduction is the most rapid. There are many species of fish, for example, in which the eggs annually produced by each female are to be reckoned by the hundred thousand; and if but one in a thousand of her progeny were to come to maturity, the ocean-waters of the whole globe, from their surface to their lowest depths, would in a few years be turned into a mass of finny life. The multiplication of the common flesh-fly, if not kept down by natural checks, takes place at such a rate, that, according to the estimate of Linnæus, three of these insects and their progeny would devour the carcass of a dead horse more quickly than a lion would do. The Aphides, or plant-lice, have been proved to propagate so rapidly, that in the course of a few months, if all interference were excluded and adequate supplies of food were obtainable, no fewer than 1,000,000,000,000,000,000 would be evolved from a single individual; an amount which only becomes conceivable, when we learn that this mass of life would weigh somewhere about as much as *five hundred millions* of stout men.

Yet we find no reason to believe that there is a permanent increase in the number of any one of these or other productions of the inexhaustible fertility of nature. Our seas are so far from being glutted with fish, that the complaint is rather of their diminished abundance; and though this might be attributed with a show of reason to the hostile influence of man, yet when we bear in mind that even the vast shoals of herrings, pilchards, and mackerel, which he captures, *might* be the offspring of a few score of individuals, it is obvious that these would be replaced at least as rapidly as they are withdrawn, if there were no more powerful check to the increase of their respective tribes. So again, although we are sometimes inconvenienced by the swarms of flesh-flies that have been bred in some neighbouring mass of putrescence which the neglect of man has left to be removed by these scavengers of nature, we are not eaten out of house and home by them, as we very soon should be, if their reproduction were not kept most efficiently in check by the voracity of other animals to which they serve as a prey. Our roses and our hops are most seriously damaged every now and then by the excessive multiplication of the species of plant-lice which respectively attack them; but all the

roses and all the hops in the world would soon be destroyed, if the occasional increase of their insect blights were not restrained within bounds by the destruction, through natural agencies, of a vast proportion of every brood engendered. The population of each tribe is, in fact, kept down to a certain general average, subject to occasional excess or reduction, within no very wide limits.

There is no need, however, to go beyond the limits of our own familiar experience in search of evidence of the same general fact; an apposite illustration of which is found, both by Mr. Wallace and Mr. Darwin, in the class of birds. If we take *four* as the average annual production of a single pair, it is easily shown that, if there were no check to the multiplication of its progeny, this would increase within fifteen years to nearly *ten millions*. Yet we have no reason to believe that the bird-population of any country is undergoing an increase. And hence it becomes evident that in each year *as many birds perish as are born*; that is, the progeny being twice as numerous as the parents, whatever be the average number of individuals existing in any given country, *twice that number must perish annually*, either serving as food to hawks and kites, wild cats and weasels, or dying of cold and hunger as winter comes on.

How much more the multiplication of individuals of any type depends upon the general capabilities of the species than upon the number of its progeny, is remarkably illustrated by the case of the American passenger-pigeon, cited by Mr. Wallace. Though this bird lays but one or two eggs, and is said generally to rear but a single young one, yet it is far more abundant than other species which produce two or three times as many young; the vast flocks of these pigeons, whose migrations in search of food are so graphically described by Audubon, being the most extraordinary aggregations of animal life of which we have any knowledge. How are we to account for the maintenance of this wonderful bird-population, which probably exceeds that of any other half-dozen species in the American continent? Obviously by the fact that the food most suitable to this species is abundantly distributed over a very extensive region, offering such differences of soil and climate, that in one part or other of the area the supply never fails; whilst, on the other side, the organisation of the bird enables it to take advantage of this wide distribution of its means of sustenance, its powers of flight being remarkable both as to swiftness and endurance, so that it can pass without fatigue over the whole of the district it inhabits, and thus, when the supply of food begins to fail in one place, it is able to migrate in search of a fresh feeding-ground even at a remote distance. In no other birds are these conditions so strik-

ingly combined ; for either their food is more liable to failure, or they have not sufficient power of wing to search for it over an extensive area, or during some season of the year it becomes very scarce, and less wholesome substitutes have to be found ; and thus, though more fertile in offspring, they can never increase beyond the supply of food in the least favourable seasons.

Nothing is easier, as Mr. Darwin justly remarks, than to admit in words the truth of this universal struggle for life ; nothing more difficult than to trace out this general fact in all its bearings. The system of checks and counter-checks provided in the economy of nature is a most complicated one ; and we are for the most part only let a little way into the secrets of her arrangement, by some local disturbance in its harmonious working. Thus in Paraguay neither cattle nor horses nor dogs have ever run wild, although they swarm both southward and northward, in a feral state ; and this limitation is due to the greater abundance in that area of a certain fly, which lays its eggs in the navels of these animals when first born. The increase of these flies, numerous as they are, must be habitually kept in check by some means, probably by birds. Hence, if certain insectivorous birds (whose numbers are probably regulated by hawks or beasts of prey) were to increase in Paraguay, the flies would decrease ; then cattle and horses would become feral, and this would greatly alter the vegetation (as Mr. Darwin has himself observed in parts of South America) ; this, again, would largely modify the insects ; this would affect the insectivorous birds, and so on in ever-extending circles of complexity. "Battle within battle must ever be recurring, with varying success ; and yet in the long-run the forces are so nicely balanced, that the face of nature remains uniform for long periods of time, though assuredly the merest trifle would often give the victory to one organic being over another."

A very close connection often exists between agencies that would not at first be supposed to have any mutual relation. How, for example, could the number of domestic cats in a village be imagined to influence the Flora of the neighbourhood ? Mr. Darwin shall make answer in his own words :

"I have reason to believe that humble-bees are indispensable to the fertilisation of the heartsease ; for other bees do not visit this flower. From experiments which I have tried, I have found that the visits of bees, if not indispensable, are at least highly beneficial to the fertilisation of our clovers ; but humble-bees alone visit the common red clover, as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt that if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heartsease and red clover would become very

rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Mr. H. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Mr. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district."

One would almost think, in reading Mr. Darwin's string of sequences, that the ingenious author of *The House that Jack built* had intended to imbue the infant mind with a knowledge of high scientific truths; for the whole of the foregoing extract may be concisely expressed, after the fashion of that immortal legend, in the following brief sentence: "This is the old woman, that kept the cat, that ate the mouse, that killed the humble-bee, that fertilised the clover." And it is obvious that if our country were in the condition of Paraguay, an abundance of wild clover would favour the increase of feral herds of cattle, which, in its turn, would operate extensively in modifying the general flora and fauna of the country.

It is only in a somewhat metaphorical sense that the term "struggle for existence" can be used with respect to plants; but when so understood, it is as applicable to their life as to that of animals. A plant which annually produces a hundred seeds, of which, on an average, only one comes to maturity, may be said to struggle against the other plants which tend to crowd out both itself and its progeny, against the animals which feed upon it in every stage of its development, and against all the physical conditions which are unfavourable to it, whether as to soil or exposure, heat or cold, drought or excessive moisture, or the like. We have many instances of the rapid multiplication and diffusion of particular species, which seem extraordinary only because they are exceptional; the peculiarity depending, not on any unusually rapid production, but simply on the absence of the ordinary repressing agencies. Cases could be given of introduced plants, which have become common throughout whole islands in a period of less than ten years; and in some of the most remarkable of these the extension has not been so much effected by seeds as by the ordinarily slower process of budding. Thus the *Anacharis alsinastrum*, a water-weed, which was imported into this country a few years ago from Canada, has made its way into almost every one of our rivers

and canals, and into many of our isolated lakes and ponds, which can only be kept from being choked with it by the employment of artificial means for its destruction; yet this plant has never flowered in Britain, and the thousands of tons of its stalks and leaves which might be annually collected from various parts of our island, are really all extensions of the single individual originally imported. We believe that the like may be said of the Indian couch-grass, which is rapidly extending itself through the cultivated pastures of New South Wales, and which will probably ere long displace other grasses in the remoter parts of that colony, whence it will extend over the rest of Australia. Several of the plants now most numerous over the wide plains of La Plata, clothing square leagues of surface, almost to the exclusion of other plants, have been introduced from Europe; and there are plants now ranging in India from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, which have been imported from America since its discovery. There is no reason whatever to suppose that in such cases (of which many more might be cited) the fertility of the plants has been temporarily increased in any sensible degree. The obvious explanation is, that, on the one hand, the conditions of life have been sufficiently favourable to promote their vigorous growth and reproduction; whilst, on the other, there has been an absence in their new habitats of those checks which previously restrained their exuberance.

Of the nature of these checks we shall cite an illustration or two from Mr. Darwin. Every one knows that an immense destruction of seeds in process of ripening is occasioned by the voracity of granivorous birds; but even when seeds have fallen into a favourable soil, and have begun to germinate, the young plants have from the first to struggle for their lives, partly against the other plants which already thickly stock the ground, partly against the animals to which they serve as food at that stage of their existence. On a piece of ground three feet long and two wide, dug and cleared, in which there could have been no choking from other plants, Mr. Darwin marked all the seedlings of our native weeds as they came up; and out of 357, no fewer than 295 were destroyed, chiefly by slugs and insects. If turf which has long been mown, or turf which has been closely browsed by quadrupeds, be let to grow, the more vigorous plants gradually kill the less vigorous though fully grown plants; thus out of twenty species growing on a little plot of turf (three feet by four), nine species perished from the other species being allowed to grow up freely.

The competition which it has to sustain with other tribes of plants, is considered by Mr. Darwin to be an agency at least as important as climate in determining the geographical range

of any particular species. If we look at a plant in the midst of its range, we see that it is not climate that restrains it from doubling or quadrupling its numbers; for we know that it can perfectly withstand a little more heat or cold, a little more dampness or dryness, since elsewhere it ranges into slightly hotter or colder, damper or drier districts. But towards the confines of its climatic range it will be subject to the competition of other plants, whether of its own kind or of some other, for the spots most favourable to it in regard to warmth or coolness, exposure or protection, dryness or moisture. And thus it seems probable that few plants (and the same will be true also of animals) range so far that they are destroyed by the rigour of the climate alone. It is from this circumstance that so large a proportion of the plants which have been introduced into this country from foreign sources, and which have become perfectly acclimatised, are still restricted to our gardens; being incapable of perfect naturalisation, since they cannot compete with our native plants, nor resist destruction by our native animals.

It is impossible now to pursue the inquiry as to this system of checks and counter-checks in any further detail, so countless are its ramifications, and so complex are its interlacements. And it is far better for our present purpose to fix our minds upon the general fact, about which there can be no kind of doubt or dispute, that each organic being is striving to increase in a geometrical ratio; but that, either through the whole of its life or at particular periods of it, either during each generation or at frequently-recurring intervals, it is subject to heavy destruction, by which its multiplication is so restrained that its numbers are merely kept up to a certain average, without more than temporary excess or diminution, so long as the conditions remain the same. Lighten any check, mitigate the destruction ever so little, and the number of the species will almost instantaneously increase to any amount; as we see in the increase of cockchafer-grubs and wire-worms that ensues on the foolish destruction of a rookery. Where, on the other hand, the excessive multiplication of a newly-introduced species becomes (as in the case of the *Anacharis*) a serious inconvenience, it is obvious that the only effectual check is to be found in the encouragement of its natural enemies, the species of animals (whatever they may be) to which it serves as food.

But how will this constant struggle for existence tend to the modification of specific types? We shall let Mr. Darwin answer this question in his own words, since these words convey, not only with scientific conciseness, but with philosophical caution, the fundamental idea of his whole treatise:

"Let it be borne in mind in what an endless number of strange peculiarities our domestic productions, and in a lesser degree those under nature, vary, and how strong the hereditary tendency is. Under domestication it may be truly said that the whole organisation becomes in some degree plastic. Let it be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other, and to their physical conditions of life. Can it, then, be thought improbable, seeing that variations useful to man have undoubtedly occurred, that other variations, useful in some way to each being in the great and complex battle of life, should sometimes occur in the course of thousands of generations? If such do occur, can we doubt (remembering that many more individuals are born than can possibly survive) that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others, would have the best chance of surviving, and of propagating their kind? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any variation in the least degree injurious would be rigidly destroyed. This preservation of favourable variations, and the rejection of injurious variations, I call Natural Selection. Variations neither useful nor injurious would not be affected by natural selection, and would be left a fluctuating element, as perhaps we see in the species called polymorphic."

Now by so much the more diversified the descendants from any one species become in structure, constitution, and habits, by so much will they be better enabled to seize on many and widely diversified places in the polity of nature, and so be enabled to increase in numbers. It is easily shown that the advantage of diversification among the inhabitants of the same region, is really the same as that of the physiological division of labour in the animal body; a greater number of plants and animals of different kinds being able to subsist within a limited area, than could find support if they were all of one type. It is obvious, then, that natural selection will favour divergence of character, and that the tendency of each specific type will be not only to diffuse itself over as wide an area as it is capable of occupying, but to undergo as many diversified modifications as its constitution may permit, in conformity with the diversities of climate, locality, food, and the countless other conditions with which it comes into relation; those diversified forms establishing themselves permanently as *new races*, which are best fitted to fight their way in the struggle for existence. Even a very limited experience affords many instances of natural specialisation of habit, which often bear an obvious relation to specialisation of structure. It is well known that one Cat is prone to catch rats rather than mice, and that this tendency is often inherited; other cats exhibit sporting propensities of different kinds, one bringing home winged game, another hares or rabbits, while another hunts on marshy ground, and almost nightly catches woodcocks or snipes. Recent observations on the Cuckoo have

shown that this bird deposits its eggs in the nests of no fewer than twenty-eight different species, and that the cuckoo's egg almost invariably agrees so closely in colour with the eggs among which it is laid, as only to be distinguished from them by a practised eye. This curious fact has been accounted for on the hypothesis that the sight of the eggs amongst which she is about to lay her own, operates through the consciousness of the parent in determining the colour of its shell. But as observation shows that the same individual cuckoo always lays eggs of the same colour; that the cuckoo's eggs are laid upon the ground in the first instance, and are afterwards conveyed in its mouth to the nest of the foster parent upon whose charge the young cuckoo is forced; and that when a nest with eggs of the corresponding colour is not accessible, the egg is deposited in that of some other species,—it seems clear that the colour of the egg is predetermined in the organisation of the parent, and that it is connected with an instinct which leads different individuals constantly to resort to different nests.

Again, the Catskill mountains of the United States are inhabited by two varieties of the Wolf: one with a light greyhound-like form, which pursues deer; and the other more bulky, with shorter legs, which more frequently attacks shepherds' flocks. Here we can readily see how very divergent varieties might originate from a common stock, and be perpetuated by the operation of natural selection. Wolves inhabiting a mountainous district, and those frequenting the lowlands, would naturally be forced to hunt different prey; any slight change of organisation that might specially adapt an individual wolf to either mode of life would give it the advantage in the struggle for existence, and would favour not only the prolongation of its own life, but its chance of leaving offspring; some of its young would probably inherit the same peculiarities, and would in like manner transmit them to their descendants; and thus, from the preferential preservation of the individuals best fitted to the requirements of each locality, two types distinct in structure and habits, not merely from each other, but also from their common progenitor, would gradually be evolved. Supposing, again, that the conditions of the country changed in such a manner as to affect the supply of food,—the deer, for example, increasing in numbers, and the other prey decreasing in abundance,—during the season of the year when the wolf is most hardly pressed for subsistence; it is quite obvious that a large proportion of the lowland variety must soon perish from starvation, through the failure of their ordinary means of support, the greater abundance of deer being of no use to animals which had lost the capability of profiting by it; whilst, under the

same circumstances, the mountain variety would both increase in numbers and would improve in swiftness. And conversely, if the supply of deer were to diminish, and the wolves were obliged to depend upon prey which it requires strength rather than swiftness to master, the mountain variety would be reduced in numbers; whilst the more bulky lowlanders would both increase in population, and would improve in special adaptation to the requirements of their mode of life.

A number of very marked examples of the influence of natural selection in the establishment and perpetuation of races having special adaptations to particular climatic conditions would be found, we have reason to believe, among the feral descendants of the domesticated quadrupeds first introduced into South America by the Spaniards; and we anticipate that much novel information on the subject will be made public in Mr. Darwin's more detailed treatise. But the following instance, recorded by M. Roulin, seems to us to be so peculiarly apposite to the present inquiry as to deserve special mention. In some of the hottest provinces of South America, a race of oxen has spontaneously sprung up, distinguished by the peculiar clothing of its hide, which consists of a fine but extremely scanty fur. This race is incapable of maintaining itself elsewhere, the "pelones" (as these oxen are termed) being too delicate in constitution to bear the cold of the Cordilleras, to which the cattle are driven for the provision of the towns situated upon them; and the breed is therefore not encouraged by human agency. On the other hand, when oxen of other breeds are driven into the provinces inhabited by these "pelones," they either speedily die out, or they become gradually and with difficulty acclimatised. In the same hot provinces another curious variety of oxen presents itself, characterised by the entire absence of hair; these naked-skinned oxen, termed "calougos," are even more delicate in constitution than the "pelones," being utterly unable to bear a climate colder than their own. Here, then, we have the spontaneous establishment, within a limited area, of breeds of oxen distinguished by peculiarities quite striking enough to be elsewhere accounted characteristic of different species. These peculiarities, whilst such as adapt them to a set of circumstances which are highly unfavourable to the continued existence of the type from which they sprang, on the other hand render them incapable of maintaining their ground under conditions which are eminently favourable to their ancestral race. And it seems impossible to account for the phenomenon upon any other principle than that of *natural selection*, as advocated by Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace.

This case further illustrates the marked difference in the

conditions and results of *natural* and *artificial* selection; a difference which prevents the deduction as to the permanence of species, which has been drawn from the instability of the peculiarities impressed on domesticated races by the agency of man, from being in the least applicable to divergent forms that have developed themselves in conformity with the peculiarities of their natural conditions. As Mr. Darwin has justly remarked, "man selects only for his own food, nature for that of the being which she tends." Many of the qualities which are most valued in the state of domesticity, are such as would render the animal utterly unfit to maintain its ground in the struggle for life when left to its own resources. The sleek-coated London carriage-horse, and the stall-fed dairy-cow that gives her twenty or even thirty quarts of milk per day, can only be kept up to such an artificial standard of perfection by a treatment that seriously impairs their constitutional stamina; so that they succumb to depressing influences which would have no effect upon hardy Dartmoor ponies or vigorous Ayrshire cattle: just as the massive bulk and vast strength of the brewer's drayman are often suddenly laid low by the results of an injury which in a truly healthy countryman would be too slight to require attention. Our breeds of quickly-fattening pigs, short-legged sheep, poodle-dogs, pouter-pigeons, and the like, never could have established themselves in a state of nature, because the very first step towards such inferior forms would have led to the rapid extinction of the race; still less could they now maintain a competition with their wild allies. The great speed but slight endurance of the race-horse, the unwieldy strength of the ploughman's team, would both be useless in a state of nature; so that, if turned wild upon the pampas, such animals would either soon become extinct, or, if placed in circumstances sufficiently favourable for their maintenance, would lose in successive generations those extreme qualities that are rather detrimental than beneficial to them, and would revert to that common type in which the various powers and faculties are so proportioned to each other as to be best adapted to procure food and secure safety. Thus, then, as Mr. Wallace justly remarks, "domestic varieties, when turned wild, *must* return to something near the type of the original wild stock, or *become altogether extinct*."

It will not be only on the more important features of the organisation, that Natural Selection will exert its modifying influence; it will often affect characters which we are accustomed to regard as trivial—for instance, *colour*. Among insects and birds we may trace a marked relation between the hue of different tribes and the tints of the spots they respectively fre-

quent, which is obviously a means of passive defence to them against their enemies. Thus leaf-eating insects are green, and bark-feeders mottled gray; the larvæ of the Phasmidæ (or spectre-insects) can scarcely be distinguished in appearance from the dead sticks on which they are commonly found; and the Mantis derives its common name of "walking-leaf" from a resemblance to that object, so close as to deceive any but a near inspection. So, again, the red grouse has very much the colour of heather; the black grouse, that of peaty earth; and the ptarmigan in winter that of snow. These birds would multiply very rapidly if they were not kept under by birds of prey, which are known to be guided chiefly by eyesight; and any deviation from the hue most favourable to escape from their notice would almost certainly ensure the early destruction of the individual that presented it: so that as complete and constant a uniformity would be maintained by natural agencies, as the breeder of white sheep maintains among his flock by the jealous destruction of every lamb that exhibits the faintest trace of black. So among plants, although the down on the fruit, and the colour of its flesh, are considered by botanists as characters of the most trifling importance, yet there is good evidence that in the United States smooth-skinned fruits suffer far more than those with down from the attacks of the curculio-beetle; that purple plums are more liable than yellow plums to a particular disease; whilst another disease attacks yellow-fleshed peaches far more than those with other-coloured flesh. If, with all the aids of art, such slight diversities make a great difference in the success with which the several varieties can be cultivated, assuredly in a state of nature, where the trees would have to struggle with other trees and with a host of enemies, such differences would effectually settle which variety, whether a smooth or a downy, a yellow or a purple-fleshed fruit, should continue to flourish.

The modifying tendency of Natural Selection, then, will be twofold: on the one hand, to the origination and maintenance of races diverging in various directions and degrees from the original type; on the other, to the extinction of all such as are overmastered in the struggle for existence by the greater energy or more perfect adaptation of other races. And we think Mr. Darwin quite justified in the conclusion, that "whatever the cause may be of each slight difference in the offspring from their parents,—and a cause for each must exist,—it is the steady accumulation, through Natural Selection, of such differences, when beneficial to the individual, that gives rise to all the more important modifications of structure, by which the innumerable beings on the face of this earth are

enabled to struggle with each other, and the best adapted to survive." And we fully agree with him, that *individual* differences, though hitherto accounted as of small interest to the systematist, are of high importance in any philosophical inquiry into the origin of species, as being the first step towards those slighter varieties which are barely thought worth recording in works on natural history. So varieties which are in any degree more distinct and permanent, are steps in a regular gradation that leads through more strongly-marked and more permanent varieties to sub-species, and thence to species. The permanence of each race will thus depend on the permanence of the conditions in which it is placed. So long as these remain unchanged, the adapted form that has been once established as the best will continue to hold the mastery; and all aberrations from it that unfit the subject of them for maintaining its ground in the battle for life will be borne down in the *mêlée*. But let a change take place in any of the conditions, however trivial they may appear, that either affect the organism directly (as is the case with temperature, hygrometric state, pressure of the air or water), or do so by an alteration in its relation to other organisms (as by affecting its supply of food, or its means of obtaining it, or by subjecting it to attacks which require increased means of resistance or escape), the race must either be capable of adapting itself to that change, or it must succumb. In the one case, the original form will give place to some modification directly proceeding from it by genetic descent; in the other, it will be superseded by some rival form derived from a different ancestry, which presses in and occupies its place; just as we see, in the social battles of life, that the families of our older aristocracy hold their ground, or are displaced by the *parvenus* whom they regard as their natural enemies, in proportion as they either adapt themselves to the spirit of the age and take advantage of its requirements, or as they hold tenaciously to their time-honoured customs, and refuse to profit by any thing that shall lower them in their own artificial scale of dignity.

We are disposed to believe, then, that Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace have assigned a *vera causa* for that diversification of original types of structure which has brought into existence vast multitudes of species, sub-species, and varieties, referable to the same generic forms; and we think that the weight of evidence is decidedly in favour of such an extension of this doctrine from the present to the past, as will enable us to account for the modification of specific types which is presented to us as we pass from one geological formation to another. It will probably meet with less opposition among British than among continental palæontologists; for with the former it has,

come to be generally admitted that many species really do range through a long succession of formations; whilst with some of the latter it is sufficient for shells or corals to present themselves in two different strata, to establish their specific diversity, however close may be their structural conformity. Are such the men, we would ask, whose opinion should have any weight in a discussion like the present? They are of the same class with the botanists who make new species of our commonest plants, because they find them in remote parts of the globe; and who affirm that an Australian or a New-Zealand species *cannot* be identical with a European, for no other reason, that we can discover, than that they have established in their own minds as a law of nature that the species of the northern and southern hemispheres *must* be dissimilar.

Now the tendency of all modern geological inquiry has been, as has been well stated by Professor Powell,* to substitute the idea of *continuous* for that of *interrupted* succession, of physical change; in breaking up large divisions into smaller; in obliterating sharp lines of demarcation by subordinate gradations; in tracing intermediate deposits in one locality which fill up breaks in another; and in thus connecting more and more closely with each other the successive members of the series of stratified deposits. And though we may be as yet very far from realising this in all instances, yet no one who has followed the progress of geological research for the last quarter of a century, can refuse to admit that the general doctrines originally enunciated by Sir Charles Lyell on this subject have been progressively acquiring a firmer basis and a more extended application. The doctrine of continuous succession, once admitted in physical geology, seems almost to necessitate the admission of the like doctrine as a corollary in regard to the succession of organic life; and such a deduction is fully borne out by our present knowledge of the relation of our existing fauna and flora to that of the later tertiary and post-tertiary epochs. "Throughout all the most recent formations," again to use the language of Professor Powell, "we find a continuous series of allied species, and a succession of organised structures, in a chain absolutely unbroken, and marked only by the minutest specific differences in its successive links, down to forms now existing; and as this is carried backwards through countless ages, by degrees we find fewer features of the present and more of the past, and even come to whole genera and orders of extinct races coexisting with some which have survived them." And though at intervals in the course of this series of close and continual connection, there

* Unity of Worlds, p. 335.

are real or apparent interruptions of greater or less magnitude, in which the immediate affinity seems broken off between the species characterising one formation and those most nearly allied to them in the next, yet the only fair inference from such a fact would be that no fossiliferous deposits took place *in that locality* during a long series of ages, through which a progressive change of organic forms was going on elsewhere, that marked itself in the entire change of specific and generic types presenting themselves in the next deposit in the first locality. A geologist who had formed his notions of the succession of strata only from the study of those wide areas in the continent of America over which the palæozoic are immediately overlaid by the tertiary formations, would be justly rebuked by his European brother for ignoring the whole series of secondary strata, and the varied forms of life which they contain; yet there are still geologists in this country who have the presumption to affirm, that because the continuity both of stratification and of organic life seems to have been completely interrupted at the end of the palæozoic period in the limited areas hitherto explored, such interruption must have prevailed universally over that vast proportion of the earth's surface of whose geological history we know absolutely nothing. As regards the supposed break between the latest secondary and the tertiary strata, the tendency of recent inquiries has most unequivocally been to remove the difficulties which have been urged on the strength of it; the study of the strata which intervene between the chalk and the nummulitic limestone of the south of Europe having revealed an unexpected continuity alike in stratification and in the succession of organic forms. And the more carefully the cretaceous, and even the oolitic, as well as the early tertiary fossils are compared with existing types, the more numerous are the instances that are found to present themselves, in which their conformity is so close as fully to sanction the idea of the continuous descent of the latter from the former, with more or less of intervening modification.

Of such modifications, occurring under circumstances which permit both their source and their continuity to be traced out, we may cite a characteristic example in the changes presented by certain univalve shells that occur in three successive beds in the tertiary formations of the Island of Cos, as described by the late Professor E. Forbes. The genera in question (*Paludina* and *Neritina*) are remarkable for their power of sustaining considerable alterations in the nature of the medium they inhabit: for although properly fresh-water mollusks, they are not limited to lakes and rivers, but are often found in estuaries, in which they are either subjected to alternations of salt water with fresh,

or live in water which is pretty constantly brackish. Now the lowest of the beds just referred to is obviously of purely fresh-water formation; for there are embedded in it, with *Paludinæ* and *Neritinæ* of their ordinary smooth and unwrinkled type, various species of shells that could not have inhabited any other medium—amongst others, pulmoniferous water-snails. In the second bed, however, these last, with other forms most rigidly limited to fresh water, disappear; whilst the *Paludinæ* and *Neritinæ* have their shells belted by a strong fold or corrugation, such as is presented by existing shells of the same tribes inhabiting waters with a slight admixture of brine. And in the third all the fresh-water forms are wanting, save such as are known to be capable of living in brackish estuaries, and are replaced by marine shells, which have a like power of partial adaptation; and the shells of the *Paludinæ* and *Neritinæ* are deeply furrowed and surrounded by strong spiral ridges. The subsequent formations, which overlies these unconformably, are undoubtedly of purely marine origin. There seems no room for doubt, then, that the changes in the circumstances under which these successive beds were formed, were such as intermixed progressively increasing proportions of salt water with the stream of fresh water by which the materials of the lowest bed were deposited; and that by this increase was effected such a gradual change of type in the shells of the *Paludinæ* and *Neritinæ*, from the forms of the first to those of the third bed, as would, if the intermediate link had not been presented to us in the second bed, or the parallel modifications occurring in these genera at the present time had been unknown, have been held by the conchologist fully to justify him in referring those forms to different species.

From such a case as this, the transition is easy to that presented by the succession of deposits constituting the great chalk formation; through the whole of which there is a strong general resemblance in the organic remains, though the species are for the most part distinct in each stage. As the accumulation of each deposit has often been interrupted, and as long blank intervals have doubtless intervened between successive deposits, we have no right to expect to find in any one or two of them all the intermediate varieties between the species which appear at the commencement and at the close of these periods; but we ought to find after intervals, very long as measured by years, but only moderately long as measured geologically, closely-allied forms, or, as some authors term them, representative species. Now as this is just what we do find, the theory of descent, with modification, is so far conformable

to positive facts, that it must be admitted to have at least as valid a foundation in a broad basis of phenomena as the theory of successive creations.

That we should meet with a similar gradational transition in all other cases, is assuredly what we have no right to expect, if we bear in mind *the extreme imperfection of the Geological Record*,—a consideration on which Mr. Darwin dwells very strongly, but not, in our estimation, one whit too strongly. "We are not only ignorant," he pithily says, "but we do not know how ignorant we are." To our minds the great wonder is, that palæontological research should have already yielded so much information as to the past life of the globe, not that it should afford so little. The indications recently afforded in regard to the antiquity of the human race,* taken in connection with the progress of discovery of the air-breathing forms of vertebrata in the earlier formations,† teach a valuable lesson of caution in drawing inferences as to the *non-existence* of any particular type at any period whatever, from the mere *negative* fact that we have not hitherto met with its remains.

A considerable part of Mr. Darwin's treatise is occupied by a discussion of the principal scientific objections (he wisely refrains from taking notice of any others) that can be urged in opposition to his views. Having already noticed by anticipation the geological difficulty, we shall only say, that we think he has conclusively shown that no value whatever can be attached to the "breeding test," on which reliance is commonly placed as a means of discriminating species from varieties; and

* We refer, of course, to the satisfactory evidence lately obtained by Mr. Prestwich, Sir C. Lyell, and other geologists of the highest authority, as to the existence, in gravel-beds elevated a hundred feet above the level of the Somme, of large numbers of flint implements, obviously shaped by the hand of man, in association with the bones of large mammals now extinct. Notwithstanding the ingenious theories which have been invented, either to account for their production by the forces of nature rather than by human art, or, admitting them to be man's handiwork, to account for their presence in these gravel-beds on the hypothesis of the modern origin of the human race, we take upon ourselves to affirm, that no unprejudiced person can carefully examine a large series of these objects without coming to recognise them as the products of a rude handicraft directed by a definite purpose; and further, that it is an inevitable deduction from the circumstances under which they are found, that, whether or not the beings that made them were contemporaneous with the Mammoth, the Tichorhine Rhinoceros, and other great extinct mammals, with whose bones they are associated, the gravel-beds containing them must have been first covered with layers of marl, clay, and sand, in some places forty feet thick, whose slowness of deposit is attested by the perfect preservation of the delicate land-shells they contain, and must have been afterwards upheaved at least a hundred feet; whilst, subsequently to this upheaval, the present valley of the Somme must have been excavated by its stream through the elevated land which now forms its high banks.

† At the last meeting of the Geological Society, the discovery was announced by Dr. Dawson, of Canada, of remains of *six reptiles* in the trunk of one fossil tree in the celebrated section of Carboniferous strata at the "Joggins" in Nova Scotia.

that the facts of geographical distribution are, when rightly viewed, rather in his favour than otherwise. A greater difficulty than either seems to us to be presented by those cases of extraordinary aberration, whether of structure or habit, whereby particular animals are distinguished from their kind; many of which it is difficult to imagine to have been acquired gradually by any process of consecutive modification.

The history of every science shows that the great epochs of its progress are those not so much of new discoveries of *facts*, as of those new *ideas* which have served for the colligation of facts previously known into general principles, and which have thenceforward given a new direction to inquiry. It is in this point of view that we attach the highest value to Mr. Darwin's work. Naturalists have gone on quite long enough on the doctrine of the "permanence of species." Their catalogues are becoming more and more encumbered with these hypothetical "distinct creations." And the difficulty of distinguishing between true species and varieties increases, instead of diminishing, with the extension of their researches. The doctrine of progressive modification by Natural Selection propounded by Mr. Darwin, will give a new direction to inquiry into the real genetic relationship of species, existing and extinct; and it has a claim to respectful consideration, not merely on account of the high value of Mr. Darwin's previous contributions to zoological science, and the thoroughly philosophical spirit in which it is put forth, but also because it brings into mutual reconciliation the antagonistic doctrines of two great schools—that of Unity of Type, as put forward by Geoffroy St. Hilaire and his followers of the Morphological School, and that of Adaptation to Conditions of Existence, which has been the leading principle of Cuvier and the Teleologists. Nor is it the least of its recommendations that it enables us to look at the War of Nature constantly going on around us as not marked only by suffering and death, but as inevitably tending towards the progressive exaltation of the races engaged in it; just as, in the world of mind, it is only by intellectual collision that Truth can become firmly established, and only by moral conflict, whether in the individual or in society, that Right can obtain an undisputed sway.

ART. IX.—THE HISTORY OF THE UNREFORMED
PARLIAMENT, AND ITS LESSONS.

The Rise and Progress of the English Constitution. By E. S. Creasy, M.A. Fourth edition, revised and with additions. London: Richard Bentley, 1858.

The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland: being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, from the earliest Period. By T. H. B. Oldfield. In six volumes. London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1816.

PERHAPS no subject of historical research should be so interesting just now as the practical working of our system of parliamentary representation before 1832. The principles of representative government are again about to be brought under discussion; a new proposal for Parliamentary Reform must be announced before many weeks are past. The more that subject is discussed, the more do all thoughtful persons wish to consult the lessons of experience with respect to it. We feel more than we used to do the difficulty of the question; we distrust more the tenets of pure democracy; we know more of the complexity of a cultivated community; we know the necessity of giving to each class the weight which it ought to have, and no greater weight: in consequence, we feel more than formerly the intellectual prudence of recurring to the facts of experience. But unfortunately there are very few such facts. Of all important political expedients, representation is by far the newest; and our experience with respect to it is therefore scanty and limited. The continental nations who have made trial of representative government, have done so almost always under exceptional circumstances, and in each case the national character of the particular nation which made the trial has very greatly affected the result of it. The experience of America is, from many causes, difficult to apply to the times in which we live. The difference of circumstances, both economical and social, is a perpetually modifying force, which tends to make a sweeping deduction almost necessarily unsound. The contrast between a new country and an old; between a state in which there is an endowed church and a landed aristocracy, and one in which there is neither; between a society in which slavery exists and one in which it does not,—is too great to be unimportant, and too pervading to be eliminated. Nor is it easy to derive effectual instruction from the working of the system which is in operation around us

now. At least it is difficult to derive instruction which *others* will think satisfactory. We may, and do, make out points sufficiently clearly to ourselves; but in the heat of controversy, and in the confusion of contemporary events, others derive from the same data, in fact, the contrary deductions. We are therefore thrown back on our own history for such instruction as it may give us; and the break made by the Reform Act of 1832 is, at least in this respect, useful. We can draw lessons from the times preceding it with the calmness of history, and nevertheless those times may yield us instruction. They are far enough from our own age to be dispassionately considered; they resemble it enough to suggest analogies for our guidance. Nor is this history in itself uninteresting. The unreformed system of representative government is that which lasted the longest; which was contemporary with the greatest events; which has developed the greatest orators, and which has trained the most remarkable statesmen. No apology, therefore, seems to be needed for writing upon the subject at present, even if we should write at some length.

To give an exact account of the old English system of representation is, however, no easy task. At present the statistical information which we possess respecting the electoral system which exists is exceedingly abundant. We can tell the number of voters in every borough and every county; we know by what right of suffrage they are entitled to vote, and how many of them have chosen in any case to exercise their right at each successive election. Compendious works specify what lord or commoner has influence in such or such a town: they say whether it is preponderant and all-powerful, or only moderate and sometimes resisted; they tell us in which town money has overwhelming influence, and enumerate the occasions upon which the use of that influence has been proved before the proper tribunal. We can hardly hope to obtain better information as to the actual working of a system than that which we have as to the system under which we are living. A hundred years ago our ancestors were nearly destitute of all such information. They had no means of telling the number of voters in any borough or county; no register existed from which they could be discovered; the right of voting in different places was exceedingly different, and the decisions of the House of Commons respecting them had been very confused. From political motives, indeed, these decisions were often contradictory; they were made to suit the requirements of the moment and the commands of the minister of the day, and a judicial spirit was, while the decision lay with a committee of the whole House of Commons, scarcely even affected. Sir Robert Walpole used to

say that in election committees there ought to be "no quarter;" and the final fate of his long administration was determined by a division on an election petition from Chippenham. As the deciding power respecting electoral rights was so inconsistent, it would perhaps hardly have been worth while to collect its decisions; and no one did so. A hundred years ago, the constant reference to precise numerical data which distinguishes our present discussions was by no means in use; and even if the number of the electoral body had been more easy of ascertainment, no one probably would have ascertained it. The government had not yet established a census of its subjects, and would not perhaps have liked to have the voters who chose it counted. At any rate, no one did count them; and a very general notion respecting the practical working of our representative system was all which could be formed at the time, or that can be formed now.

The representation of England and Wales was formerly, as now, in the hands of counties and boroughs. The number of counties was the same as it now is; but they were as yet undivided for the purposes of representation. The number of boroughs was very considerable, and this of itself led to a difficulty.

It is evident that in early times, when population was small and trade scanty, it would be difficult to find very many boroughs that would be fit to elect proper members of parliament. We know by trial that a town constituency, to be pure and to be independent, must be of fair size, and with a considerable number of better-class inhabitants: unless it is so, it will assuredly succumb to one of two dangers; it will fall under the yoke of some proprietor who will purchase the place as a whole, or it will be purchased, vote by vote, at each election. Nothing, both experience and theory explain to us, is so futile as to expect continued purity and continued independence from a small number of persons who have something valuable to sell, and who would gain what is an object to them by selling it. But of considerable towns the number was once exceedingly few. Internal commerce and foreign trade have made such enormous strides in England recently, that we hardly realise the poverty of former times, or the small number of people who lived where we live now. Statistics, though they may give us a statement of the fact, do not, and cannot, fill our imaginations with it. We may get a better notion of what England was in numbers and wealth from travelling in the purely agricultural, the less advanced and poorer parts, of the Continent, than we can from figures and books. We shall in that way gain a vivid impression that it would be impossible in a rude age and country to find a

very great number of borough-towns large enough to elect representatives independently, and rich enough to elect them uncorruptly.

In the system which prevailed a hundred and fifty years ago our ancestors had much aggravated this difficulty. They had not selected the most considerable towns to be parliamentary constituencies; they had not taken all the largest, and they had taken several of the smallest. We need not now explain why this happened. We have no room to discuss the antiquities of the old boroughs; we cannot tell in many cases why some were chosen which were chosen. But two facts are incontestable: of which one is, that there was probably much original caprice in the selection of town constituencies. The sheriff had at first a certain discretionary power, and we do not know very precisely how he exercised it. The boroughs themselves were anxious, not to obtain the right, but to evade the obligation, of sending members to parliament. Provided a respectable number of borough members appeared in their places to assent to the requisite taxes, and to indicate by their demeanour, if not by their votes, the popular feeling on the topics of the day, the early rulers of England, those rulers who laid the foundations of our representative system, were satisfied. They felt no nice scruples as to the exact magnitude of the towns who did not send members, or of those who did so. In the times of the Tudors, and a little later, the Crown exercised its prerogative of creating new boroughs; and as the popular spirit had then begun to be a subject of dread, and the voice of the House of Commons was already of some importance, we need not hesitate to imagine that the statesmen of the time regarded the "loyalty" or subservience of the boroughs they created rather than their precise size. English statesmen look to the wants of the day, and especially to the wants of their own administration, much more than to complex figures; they do so even at the present day, when statistical tables will be paraded against them: how much more did they not improbably do so in the reigns of the Tudors, when there was no check upon them in any matter requiring much research or information; when, if they chose to disregard numerical data, no one else could know, far less prove, that they had done so! Nor was original caprice the only cause that had given representatives to many boroughs which in the eighteenth century seemed scarcely fit to choose them, and which denied them to others which appeared to be much more fit. In the contest between the Stuarts and the people, the Crown lost its old prerogative of creating boroughs; the moment there was a contest between the House of Commons and the sovereign, it became clear that the sovereign must be victorious if he could.

add members to the former at his pleasure. Accordingly the House of Commons impugned the validity of the so-called prerogative; their resistance was successful, and it was exercised no longer. In consequence, the old boroughs remained, and no new ones were added; and as, in a changing country like this, many places which were formerly large, gradually became small, and many small ones on the other hand became large, the distribution of wealth and numbers came in process of time, and by a process which no one watched, to be altogether different to the distribution of parliamentary influence.

Nor was this the only way in which the inherent difficulty of finding good town constituencies in poor and rude times was artificially aggravated in our old system of representation. Not only were the best boroughs not chosen to be constituencies, but the best persons in those boroughs were not chosen to be electors. The old and complex rights of suffrage in different boroughs are antiquarian matters, on which we have not a single line of space to bestow; but they differed very much. Originally, perhaps, the right or duty had belonged or attached to all ratepaying householders; but this simple definition, if it ever existed, had long passed away, and the rights of suffrage had become most various. No short description, much less any single definition, would include them. We give those which existed in the boroughs of two counties, Somersetshire and Lancashire, to show how great the diversity was, and how many "permutations and combinations" it embraced.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

- BRISTOL . . . Freeholders of 40s. and free burgesses.
 BATH . . . Mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen only.
 WELLS . . . Mayor, masters, burgesses, and freemen of the seven trading companies of the said city.
 TAUNTON . . . Potwallers, not receiving alms or charity.
 BRIDGEWATER . . . Mayor, aldermen, and twenty-four capital burgesses of the borough paying scot and lot.
 ILCHESTER . . . Alleged to be the inhabitants of the said town paying scot and lot, which the town called potwallers.
 MINEHEAD . . . The parishioners of Dunster and Minehead, being housekeepers in the borough of Minehead, and not receiving alms.
 MILBORN PORT . . . The capital bailiffs and their deputies, the number of bailiffs being nine, and their deputies being two; in the commonalty, stewards, their number being two; and the inhabitants thereof paying scot and lot.

LANCASHIRE.

- LANCASTER . . . Freemen only.

WIGAN . . .	Free burgesses.
CLITHEROE . .	Freeholders, resident and non-resident.
LIVERPOOL . .	Mayor, bailiffs, and freemen not receiving alms.
PRESTON . . .	All the inhabitants.

Generally speaking, we may perhaps say that the original scot and lot (or rate-paying) qualification had been submitted to two opposite forces of alteration. By one it had been restricted to some inhabitants of the town who, by virtue of some corporate right or superintendence, assumed to themselves to be its most important and chief inhabitants. These principal persons were usually few, and they prudently contrived that their number should not be augmented. They formed themselves into self-renewing corporations: at every vacancy the remaining members filled up the place as they deemed best, and they took care no one should have votes but themselves. On the other hand, by a second process, the borough suffrage had been widened so as to include all freemen, or all inhabitant householders not paying alms; every body, in short, who could be included in it. The process of extension, as was natural, was of the two the older process. While the right of electing members was attended by the duty of paying them, it was an onerous burden, and the chief people in the place tried to extend it as far as they well could; in later times, when members were no longer paid, and political advantages were to be obtained by the skilful use of a vote, the influential people of a borough tried as much as possible to keep the parliamentary suffrage to themselves. In the last attempt they generally succeeded. The boroughs in which the people at large elected the members were, in the eighteenth century, far fewer than those in which a few persons of one sort or another elected them. The tendency of the House of Commons itself, from various causes, was rather to confine than to extend the right of suffrage. But in whichever direction the progress of time had altered what we may suppose to have been the original right of franchise, whether it had restricted it or had extended it, the effect upon the constituency was almost equally bad. If it was much narrowed, it fell into the hands of a very small number of persons, who used for their own benefit what had become a very marketable privilege; and if the franchise had been very much extended—especially if it became, as in several places it did, nearly equivalent to universal suffrage—we may readily conceive in what manner it was used, when we remember that many of the boroughs were small, that in that age corruption was thought far less disgraceful than at present, and that the poorer classes were much poorer and much more ignorant than they are now.

We need not further explain the general causes which im-

paired the independence and purity of the ancient boroughs. As it would have been somewhat difficult to find in old times enough boroughs that were proper to choose representatives; as the best had not been chosen, perhaps had not been searched for; as in the actual boroughs the best people to be voters had not been selected as such; as in most of them the electing constituency was very small,—it is no wonder that most of these boroughs fell more or less under the control of some rich man or some rich men, who considered the franchise of the borough a part of their own property.

With the counties the case was somewhat different; as yet there was no Chandos clause, the forty-shilling freehold was as yet the only title to a vote. Yeomen with such freeholds were as yet numerous, in many counties very numerous, and were still sturdy and independent. The inferior gentry were not always much disposed to submit to the dictation of lord or duke. In the last century, the county franchise was always considered as the free and independent element; those who wished to purify the legislature, always proposed to augment that element, and saw no other means of obtaining what they wished for.

But even the counties were in former times far less independent than, from the nature of the legal franchise, from the paper description of it, we should suppose. Our county society has always been an aristocratic society; and in the last century aristocracy was a power of which it is difficult in these days of free manners and careless speech to realise the force. Society had then, far more than now, a simple, regular, recognised structure; each class had its place: it looked up to the classes above it; it would have thought it wrong to vie with them, or even to imitate them. Each class was to a certain extent independent; each went its own way on its own affairs, attended to the transactions of its own calling and the details of its own life: but each had a tendency, such as we can hardly now imagine, to be guided, impelled, and governed by those who were above them on all questions and in all matters which concerned or seemed to concern all classes equally. The real distinction between classes, too, was then an infinitely greater one than it is now. The aristocratic class was the most educated class, had access to the best society; was, as a whole, by far the most polished and cultivated class in the nation. For good and for evil, noblemen had a power then to which there is nothing comparable, scarcely any thing analogous, now. Amusing examples occur of it in the documents of the time. Thus Burke, in a memorandum on East-Indian affairs, addressed to the noblemen and gentlemen who composed the Rockingham party, proposes

the following scheme: "With regard to the Bank [of England], which is the grand instrument of the court on this occasion, might it not be proper (if possible) that some of you of the greatest property should resolve to have nothing to do with their paper? There are five or six of you that would frighten them." If the territorial influence of the aristocracy was supposed to be so powerful in Threadneedle Street, we may easily suppose what it must have been in their own counties, at their own doors. The county contests of the last century had a continued tendency to become family conflicts between one noble house and another. The political questions of the day were merged in the intensity of the aristocratic, and perhaps hereditary feud.

Such was the representation of England; and it seems restricted enough: but that of Scotland was even more restricted still, and more subject to illegitimate influence. Even the stoutest defenders of the old system of representation before 1832 used to own that the Scotch system could only be defended as "part of a whole," and that taken by itself it was absurd. There were in theory in Scotland thirty county members and fifteen borough members; but the franchise had in both of them been narrowed to an almost inconceivable extent. In 1812 the whole county constituency only amounted to 1235, and the whole borough constituency to 1253. The franchise in the counties was restricted to the tenants in chief of the crown; all proprietors (the feudal law in theory still prevailed) who held from a subject were disfranchised, though a very large portion of the country was owned by them. The result was much the same as if in England the county member had been chosen, not by the 40s. freeholders, but the lords of the manor. The franchise was practically as confined in Scotland as that restriction would have made it here. The borough franchise, too, was possessed by the members of the town-councils of the various boroughs exclusively; no other persons had a share in it. The burghs were, as now, divided into districts; in each district the town-council of each burgh contained in it named a delegate, and by the majority of these delegates the member for the district was chosen. Edinburgh alone had the honour of a separate representation; and its constituency amounted in number to *thirty-three*.

What degree of independence such small constituencies may have possessed in England or in Scotland, we cannot now accurately know. Even to those who knew the places best, it must have been sometimes difficult to determine it with accuracy. Influence is in its very nature somewhat secret; we cannot tell whence it precisely comes, by what exact channels it acts, or in what direction it is tending. Any estimate which can be formed

of the degree in which the constituencies of the last century, such as we have described them, were either dependent or independent, must be very vague. The public at large knew very little on the subject; and no one took the trouble to note down in detail, and with precision, that which they did know. A general notion of the practical results may, however, be easily formed. In the year 1773, Dean Tucker observed in a letter to Lord Shelburne:

"Your lordship has the command of two boroughs already; and the public shrewdly suspect that you would have no qualms of conscience against commanding two more, or even twenty-two. Mr. Fox and Lord Holland's family command one; the late Marquis of Rockingham had at least two, which he might, and did, call *his own*; and were I to proceed after the same manner throughout the peerage and the great landed interest, also the commercial and the manufacturing interest of the realm, perhaps I might enumerate not less than two hundred, namely boroughs and cities, and even counties, whose voters choose representatives and return members to parliament more according to the good-will and pleasure of those who have the ascendancy over them than according to their own private judgments or personal determinations."

As there were at that time no Irish members, the number of members of parliament was 558; and as almost all constituencies had then two members each, this estimate would give about 400 to the class of nominated and dependent members, and about 158 to that of the independent. This calculation, rough as it evidently is, and imperfect as the data for making it evidently were, corresponds sufficiently well with a very elaborate calculation made forty years later:

Members returned by 87 peers in England and Wales . . .	218
" " 21 " Scotland	31
" " 36 " Ireland	51

Total returned by peers 300

Members returned by 90 commoners in England and Wales . . .	137
" " 14 " Scotland	14
" " 19 " Ireland	20
" nominated by government	16

Total returned by commoners and government . . . 187

Total returned by nomination 487

Independent of nomination 171

Total of the House of Commons 658*

* The above estimate is taken from Mr. Oldfield's *Representative History*, a work in many respects entitled to respect, but by no means impartial. The representation of Ireland, though not free from great defects, had been exceedingly improved at the time of the union with England.

Whatever doubts might be suggested,—and doubtless some might be suggested,—as to the details of this estimate, its main conclusion may be considered to be certain. A large and preponderant majority of the members of the House of Commons were, in one way or in another, nominated by noblemen and gentlemen; and only a minority were elected by the popular constituencies. The majority of the House of Commons represented the views and feelings of a particular and peculiar class; the minority only were elected by constituencies which could be supposed to choose representatives for all the other classes.

Such was in bare outline the old electoral system of England: and we may describe it by a startling phrase; it was a representation, so to say, of *select constituencies*. This is not the light in which we have been used to regard it. We speak by tradition of borough-mongers with dislike, and of rotten boroughs with contempt. From circumstances which we shall soon see, neither have left a good name in history. Most of us are the children of those who destroyed them; the leaders of our great parties are still those who were foremost in doing so. We naturally do not think well of them. But what were they? They were proprietary constituencies; they were, in truth, *higher class constituencies*; they gave a representation to persons of greater wealth, of greater education, and presumably therefore, of greater political capacity, than the mass of the nation. We have apparently at least the best means of judging of their effects. Being, as we have seen, the preponderant element in the electoral system, the members chosen by them were the preponderant element in the House of Commons. They were the ruling power in the state. How, then, did this system, so singularly and irregularly composed, in fact work? We have the general results in history. The only difficulty, and it is not a slight one, is to understand them rightly and explain them briefly.

In the first great quality of a representative government, we may say boldly that, up to a late period of its existence, and with an exception or two which we shall specify, this one worked very well. The first requisite of a representative system is, that the representative body should represent the real public opinion of the nation. Nor is this so easy a matter as some imagine. There are nations which *have* no public opinion. The having it requires what a pedantic writer might call the *coördination of judgments*. Some people must be recognised to be wiser than others are. In every district there must be people generally admitted by the judgment of their neighbours to have more sense, more instructed minds, more cultured judgments, than others have. Such persons will not naturally or

inevitably, or in matter of fact, agree in opinion; on the contrary, they will habitually differ: great national questions will divide the nation; great parties will be formed. But the characteristic of a nation capable of public opinion is, that those parties will be *organised*; in each there will be a leader, in each there will be some looked up to, and many who look up to them: the opinion of the party will be formed and suggested by the few, it will be criticised and accepted by the many. It has always been the peculiarity of the history of England, that it has been capable of a true public opinion in this its exact and proper sense. There has ever been a *structure* in English political society: every man has not walked by the light of his own eyes; the less instructed have not deemed themselves the equals of the more instructed; the many have subordinated their judgment to that of the few. They have not done so blindly, for there has always been a spirit of discussion in our very air: still they have done so,—opinions have always *settled down* from the higher classes to the lower; and in that manner, whenever the nation has been called on to decide, a decision that is really national has been formed.

On the whole, the English constitution of the last century, in the best of its time, and before the occurrence of changes which we shall soon describe, gave an excellent expression to the public opinion of England. It gave a ruling discretion to those whom the nation at large most trusted; it provided a simple machinery for ascertaining with accuracy the decisions at which the few had arrived, and in which the mass concurred.

This constitution was submitted to no ordinary test. We have so long outlived the contests of the last century, that we have forgotten their intensity. We look on it as a very quiet time; and we contrast it with the apprehensive, and changeable, and anxious period in which it seems to us that we are living. Of the middle of the eighteenth century this is a true idea, at least of part of it; but the English Government during the early part of the century was tried by what is probably the severest trial to the foundations of an hereditary and constitutional government—by a struggle between two claimants to the throne, each of whom represented a principle. We know well the arguments of the side which has gained; but we do not always remember the moral strength of the side which lost. The Jacobites had much in their creed which appealed to the predominating principles of the English nature:—an hereditary family, which claimed the Crown, not on arguable considerations of policy, but on ascertainable claims of descent; which embodied, not a speculation, but a fact; which had prescription in its favour, and was in harmony with a country almost all whose

other institutions were prescriptive; which had on its side the associations with the maintenance of order and the security of property, as claimants by prescription must have; which appealed to the Conservative instinct, which is always so strong in a people over whom the visible world rules so much; which appealed to the loyal instincts, which have a great influence over a people in whom a strong but suppressed imagination profoundly works,—such a family must have had a singular hold on the popular attachments of England. History proves that they had it; and that they only lost England by an incapacity for action, and an inherent perversity of judgment, that seem to have been hereditary in the race. In the last act of the drama, during the first few years of the House of Hanover, the Stuart dynasty had still great influence in the country. They were not, indeed, in possession; and as the strength of their adherents was among the most Conservative classes, they could not regain possession: but if we could fancy them, by any freak of fortune, to have been reinstated, there would have been incredible difficulty in expelling them once more. Possibly it could not have been done, certainly it would not have been done, if the fanatical hatred of the majority of Englishmen to Popery had not coöperated with the attachment to freedom,—if a sentiment which actuated the masses had not been on the same side with the convictions which influenced the few. If the hereditary heir to the Crown had been once seated on the throne, and had consented to be converted, or to seem to be converted, to Protestantism, the chances of the Hanoverian family would have been small and feeble.

Just before the demise of Queen Anne, the prospects of the Jacobite party had much to captivate sanguine and shortsighted men. The female favourite of the queen—the reigning favourite we may call her—was indisputably on their side: the queen, who had the strongest motives to be decidedly opposed to them, was not so; her suppressed inclinations—perhaps her latent conscience—were in their favour: the first ministers of the Crown, if they had no “settled intention,” to use Bolingbroke’s distinction, had floating notions and vague “views” in favour of the Stuarts. In the nation at large, the inferior gentry—those of whom the Tory foxhunter of Addison is an admirable memorial—were half Jacobite: the rural clergy (the Whig historian calls them “a curse rather than a blessing to those over whom they were set”*) were more than half Jacobite: the lower class of the people—the No-Popery antipathy apart—would perhaps have inclined more to the house of Stuart than to the house of Hanover. Legitimacy is a popular title, loyalty touches the

* Hallam.

heart; the rule of a single monarch is an intelligible thing, the least educated can and do understand it: but the rule of Parliament, and the idea of a constitution, are difficult to comprehend; the lower orders of people hardly ever understand them or comprehend them. The only classes over whom the attachment to the Act of Settlement and to the constitution, such as it then existed, was really strong, were two: the higher gentry, including the nobility in that word; and the mercantile and trading classes—the “fundholders,” as the Tory squires of that age called them, and fancied that they were.

It is evident that a very peculiar parliamentary constitution was required to give an expression to the real will of the nation, when the classes composing it were so divided, and when the very principle and nature of the government of the country was in dispute. What, indeed, it may be said, was the will of the country? The classes which have been specified did not agree in opinion, nor would one of them have avowedly and explicitly agreed to yield to the opinion of the class opposed to it. The squire would never have admitted that the fundholder was wiser than himself, nor would the fundholder have paid the least deference to the notions of the squire. The fact of the one having an opinion, would rather have tended to prevent the other from adopting it. How, then, was a national decision a truly national decision? It was possible in this way. The dissentient classes, as we may call those over whom Jacobitism and the extreme Toryism had the greatest influence,—the rural gentry and the rural clergy,—both yielded deference and homage, and to a certain extent confidence, to the higher gentry and the nobility, under whom, it may be said, they lived, near whose estates they were born, and who were the unquestioned heads of all the society to which they belonged. On political topics this was especially the case. Rugged prejudice of course existed, and “my lord” was not always liked; still it could not but be felt that he knew more of the world, had access to better information, had enjoyed more of what were then the rare opportunities of travelling and education, than the lower gentry had. He possessed all the means of judging which they had, and others too. A certain deference was paid then to rank which is not paid to it now, because the inherent difference between the highest orders and others in manners and in mind was much greater than any that exist at present. A national decision was then possible, and was then attained, because the classes who were the most likely to dissent, and who in reality did dissent, from what the rest of the nation wished, were precisely the classes most under the control of, and most likely to submit to, the moral influence of those who were above them.

Such being the state of the nation in the earlier part of the last century, there was an evident difficulty in giving a just expression to it. Scarcely any of the ordinary modes of government which theorists have suggested, or which continental nations have tried, would have succeeded in giving it. The most intelligent classes, those who were disposed to support the House of Hanover and the principles of liberty, were, as we have explained, the trading classes and the higher gentry. The class most confided in by the nation was the higher gentry and the nobility. Fortunately the most trusted class was a portion of the most intelligent class: the chosen leaders of the country were a part at least of those whom it was best for it to choose for its leaders; the actual guides were some of the best guides who could be found. But what constitutional arrangements would be adapted to give them by law that guidance; in what manner could the indefinite and vague deference of the people be shaped and fashioned into a polity?

Any system of democratic suffrage, we may at once say, would have been unfitted for that end. The classes into whose hands it would have thrown the power were the lower classes, who could be expected to have no intelligent appreciation of the principles of freedom, and in fact had none. Any thing like universal suffrage would have been an enormous addition to the influence of the rural clergy and the smaller squires. These two classes, being resident in the country, being known to the lowest classes, distributing all the casual advantages which they had any chance of, adjudging all the petty penalties of the local law which they had any risk of incurring, must have had preponderating influence over the rural population. They would have brought down from scattered villages and petty hamlets regiments of voters for the Stuart dynasty, who knew nothing of the real merits of the controversy to be decided, who were utterly ignorant of the very meaning of constitutional government, who could have given no account of the very nature and structure of Parliament, but who knew that the only educated persons they ever knew, the only influential persons they ever saw,—the parson of their own village, and the squire of it,—had told them to do that which they were doing. We should have then seen in England that which we now see in France. The uneducated majority would have pronounced their decision; the country would have been forced to recognise it; the law would have been compelled to enforce it. Instead of living under the constitution which we now have, we might, and probably should, have been living under a Jacobite despotism, sanctioned by the preponderant, we might say almost by the unanimous, vote of the rural population.

It may be objected, however, that the deference which we have observed that the rural clergy and the lesser squires bore to the higher gentry would have prevented this result. It may be said that, although they would have by law possessed the power of influencing in the last resort the national destiny and deciding on the national constitution, they would not in practice have done so; that they would have given up their own judgments, and would have been guided by the opinions of the classes whom they knew, and whom they admitted, to be their superiors. But experience shows that this is an error, and that those who entertain it have a mistaken view of a very important part of human nature. If you give people uncontrolled power, real, *bonâ-fide*, tangible, felt power, they will exercise it according to their own notions. Of course this is only true of classes which *have* notions. An ignorant peasantry, for example, have none; if you give them nominal political power, you do not give them any thing they can understand, or appreciate, or use. It is not real power to them; it has none of the effectiveness of power in their hands: it is an instrument they cannot employ to obtain any preconceived result; they are bewildered about its nature; they do not know what they are doing when they are exerting it; it is not any thing they can prize, and use, and enjoy. But a class of gentry or clergy, a moderately educated class of any sort, is not in this position. It has views, opinions, wishes of its own: those views may be narrow, those opinions erroneous, those wishes foolish; but they have them. They are attached to them. If power is put into their hands, they will try to carry them out in action. Under a constitution which did not give them predominant power, the Tory squire and the Tory clergy were ready to give up their vague opinions and their floating predilections; but if they had been invested with a constitutional authority and a legislative omnipotence, they would never have given those opinions and predilections up, or imagined that they could give them up; they would have stiffened them into a compact creed, and tried to realise them under the despotism of the Stuarts.

It is therefore certain that no system of universal suffrage, or of very diffused and popular suffrage, would have secured the maintenance of the House of Hanover and the security of English liberty. The lower classes would themselves probably have been on the other side; and whether that be so or no, the persons who had the greatest, the surest, and the most diffused influence over them were indisputably on the other side for the most part.

It is certain, too, that no system of uniform but not universal suffrage which would have been endured by the country would

have given at that time a real expression to the will of the country. As we have explained, the real opinion of the country was in accordance with the opinion of the wealthier trading and mercantile classes. They were zealous for the House of Hanover; the nation, though not zealous for it, was favourable to it. By establishing a high and uniform qualification for votes in large boroughs, and by giving a very considerable number of members to those large boroughs, it would have been possible, though it would have been difficult, to secure a Parliament with an opinion substantially in accordance with the decision of the nation. It would have been difficult, for the great towns were then few and scattered; the north of England, which now teems with them, was then a poor district, not only in comparison with what it now is, but also with many parts of the south as it was at that time. Still, by such a system as we have suggested, it would have been *possible* to throw the leading authority of the nation into the hands of the large towns, and into the hands of the richer persons in those towns. In practice, however, no such constitution would have been endured. The Tory gentleman would not have endured to be put into the yoke of the "fundholder" or the manufacturer. The clergy would never have endured a subjection to the class among whom Dissent had the greatest hold, and possibly a preponderating influence. To have attempted to have placed the country under the rule of the commercial classes in towns and cities, would have been a greater revolution than the change of the dynasty itself; it would have shocked the prejudices of the nation at large; it never suggested itself even to those very classes themselves.

Thus all ordinary systems of suffrage bring out one or other of two results. They would *either* have thrown preponderating and conclusive power into the hands of the lesser gentry and the clergy, *or* they would have thrown an equal and similar power into the hands of the manufacturers and merchants. The first result would have been easy: England was then a predominantly agricultural country, and it would have been very easy to frame a system of suffrage which would give the ordinary squire and the ordinary clergyman—the ruling classes in agricultural society then as now—a large predominance. Any system which gave what would seem in theory its due weight to the counties would have had that effect. A system might have been suggested which would have given enormous power to the large towns. But both these systems would have been inadequate to the end desired. That which gave preponderance to the ordinary landholder would have represented rather the tradition of Toryism than the present decision of the living nation: that which gave a preponderance to manufacturers and

traders would have been offensive to almost all the country: it would have been unendurable by many classes of it: it would not have been, in fact, a government; for it could not have governed a country in which it had no root, and to whose keenest prejudices it was adverse.

The system which was in fact adopted obviated these defects. Its peculiar nature threw preponderant power into the hands of the higher gentry and the nobility. The smaller boroughs had fallen by a kind of necessity of nature into their hands; their influence in the counties was preponderant, if not overwhelming. As we have explained, this class was the one most trusted by the nation, which was universally believed to have the greatest political intelligence, whose opinions in matter of fact were coincident with those of all the most intelligent classes. Under any other system of representation, it would not have been possible to give to this class preponderant power. It is not in the nature of any extended system of suffrage to give to a small upper class any very considerable amount of power. Their numbers are few, and their votes are immeasurably outnumbered by the votes of their inferiors. It is not possible to establish in any country a system of uniform suffrage so narrow and so high as to give to this small upper class a preponderant authority in the country. It seems ridiculous in a popular government to give votes to a very few persons only; and as soon as any uniform system of suffrage is extended beyond those few, it gives decisive predominance to the many, and on that very account withdraws it from the less numerous but more educated orders.

In this way, therefore, we think it certain that in the earlier part of the last century the old system of representation, by throwing into the hands of a peculiar and influential class the predominant authority in the state, was more beneficial to the nation than a more diffused and popular system would have been. The materials for the creation of constituencies both numerous and intelligent, both well-educated and influential, did not exist. The practical choice was between an uninstructed number and a select few: our constitution gave the preponderance to the latter; and in the great struggle between the House of Stuart and the House of Hanover,—between the principle of legitimacy and the principle of freedom,—the consequences were beneficial and were decisive. It not only secured the authority of a free government, but the ease with which it did so has disguised from us the difficulties with which it contended. The victory was so complete, that the recollection of the conflict is confused.

With that struggle, however, the singular usefulness of the

old system of representation certainly ended. We do not think that, in the remaining part of the history of the eighteenth century, it gave at all a better expression to the national opinion than any other system would have done. Various writers have made charges against the English government on account of the wars which marked the period; but we think unjustly. On the whole, no nation of equal strength, of equal courage, and of equal pride, has ever in the history of the world pursued a course so tranquil. We were entangled in a Spanish war; we were induced by our Hanoverian connections to intermeddle unnecessarily in Germany; we were at war occasionally, as in every century we have from time to time been, with France: but none of these wars were wars of ambition. We wished when at war for national glory: we were not sorry to go to war, because we thought we might gain glory in it; but we never went to war with a distinct desire for territorial aggrandisement. We have never had in our national character any principle of aggression. We have no such settled inciting motive. On the contrary, we wish that every one shall have his own,—shall retain whatever he has already by right or by prescription; though we are jealous—jealous even to slaying of any one who by hint, allusion, or suggestion, throws a doubt upon our own title to any thing which we already have. We are by nature unwilling to relinquish, though we are not desirous to acquire.

The actual government of the last century carried out these principles fairly and well; but it is probable that any other government which the English people would have borne would have done so equally. A more democratic government would perhaps have been more warlike: but an English democracy will probably never be very warlike; it will never engage in a continued series of intentional aggressions; least of all would it have done so in the last century, when there was no struggle in Europe which could arouse the popular passions, and no cause which could interest profoundly the popular imagination. The wars of Protestantism had passed away, and the wars of Jacobinism had not yet begun. It is possible that a more democratic government would, with its inherent aggressive instincts, have interfered somewhat more in the petty wars of circumstance and occasion which complicate the history of the last century, and make it so tedious to us now. But we did interfere a good deal in them as it was. For an aristocracy, ours has never been a pacific aristocracy. It is in many ways their boast, their pride, and their merit, that they have less of the distinctive peculiarities of an aristocracy than any other which has ever existed; they claim justly to have a more popular interest, and a more vigorous sympathy. The blame that attaches to them is similar:

they have shown the same qualities in the defects of their government: they have had but little of the refining, calculating, diplomatic habit which usually characterises the policy of an hereditary class that have much to lose in war, and much to enjoy in peace. The English aristocracy is the most warlike of great aristocracies, and the English nation is the least warlike of free nations. Few of the many threads of union which so richly pervade our social system have been more influential than this one. We have had much of martial manliness where we should have expected but little; we have had much of apathetic indifference where we might have looked for an aggressive passion. The warmth above has been greater, and that below less, than a theorist would have expected; and therefore our social fabric has been more equable in temperature than we should have ventured to predict.

In the quiet times, therefore, of the middle part of the eighteenth century there is no particular reason for believing that our old system gave a much better or a much worse representation to the national voice than any other system might have been expected to give. In the more troubled times of the American war and the French war, there is even less reason to think that any other system would have varied much the course of our policy. We should have tried to conquer America under any government; and we should have tried to resist the aggressive proselytism of France under any government. We may form our own opinions now of the expediency, the justice, or the possibility of these attempts; we may think that the American war showed national narrow-mindedness, and the French war showed national irritability; but the indubitable fact remains, that both the one and the other were popular in their day, and that both were thoroughly acceptable to the community at large as well as to the aristocracy.

There is, however, great and conclusive reason to believe that, during the later period of its existence, the old system of representation had an inherent defect peculiar to itself, which, if it did not disqualify altogether for giving a correct embodiment to national opinion, made it much less likely than most other systems of representation to do so perfectly. The social condition of England had undergone a series of very extensive changes between the time of the accession of the House of Hanover and the year 1832. A new world—a world of industry and manufacture—had been created; new interests had arisen; new modes of thought had been awakened; new habits of mind had been engendered. The mercantile and manufacturing classes, which had risen to influence, were naturally unrecognised by the ancient constitution; they lived under its

protection, but they were unknown to its letter; they had thoughts which it did not take account of, and ideas with which it was inconsistent. The structure of English society was still half feudal, and its new elements were utterly unfeudal. It was impossible to subject Lancashire, such as it became, to the dominion of any aristocracy, however ancient and long-descended it might be. Such rulers were not fitted for such subjects, nor were such subjects fitted for such rulers. Between the two classes there was a contrast which made the higher unintelligible to the lower, and the lower disagreeable to the higher. Education, moreover, was diffusing itself. The political intelligence of the aristocratic classes was no longer so superior to that of other classes, as it had formerly been. The necessary means of information were more widely accessible than they had been, and were very extensively used. The contrast between the constitution of England and England itself in consequence became day by day greater and greater, and at last became unendurable. We have not space to go into detail on this part of the subject, and it is not necessary to go into details about it. If it had not been for the terror excited throughout Europe by the French revolution, the old system of parliamentary representation could hardly by possibility have lasted as long as it did. In the end it passed away; and the recollection of the evils of its latter time has obscured the remembrance of its former usefulness. As we have shown, it long gave us a Parliament coincident in judgment with the nation; it maintained upon the throne the dynasty under which we live, and secured the foundations of English liberty. It long worked well; and if at last it worked ill, the excuses for its doing so were many. It had survived all that was akin to it, and was in contact with every thing which was most discordant to it. A constitution which was adapted to the England of 1700 must necessarily be unadapted to the England of 1832. Changes so momentous as there had been between those years in our society required and enforced equivalent alteration in our polity.

Such is the general result of this long examination of our old system of representation in the main quality of a representative system—that by which above all others it must stand or fall—its coincidence with the *real* national opinion. We see that this is a mixed and a complicated, but not on the whole an unsatisfactory one. We will now shortly examine our old system in three other respects. Did it give a means of expression to the views of all classes? Did it secure to us really strong administrations? Did it train for us efficient statesmen? If we can in any way answer these questions, it will, we think, be admitted that we have discussed the most important part of

the subject, and examined our former system of representation by the tests that are most stringent and satisfactory.

In the second requisite of the representative system, that which existed in England in the last century must be considered to have been successful. It gave a means of expression to all classes whose minds required an expression. The mercantile and trading class had not, as we have just explained, their due weight in the system of government; they did not regulate all that they should have regulated, or control all that they should have controlled; but they had always the means of expressing their sentiments. They had not, especially in the later times, a representation proportioned to their intelligence and their influence; but they always had *some* representation. The gentry were not only represented, but over-represented. Especially during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth, their influence was unreasonably great, and their despotism absolute. They ruled the country without check and without resistance; they were subject only to a weak and modified remonstrance; they had but to listen in the House of Commons to the speeches of those whom they could immeasurably outvote; they had but to quell out of doors the unrecognised murmurs of an unorganised multitude, which had long obeyed them, which was still ready to obey them, which did not know its own power.

With respect to the lowest class of all, the working of our own system of representation is peculiarly instructive. That system, by its letter, attempted to throw a good deal of power into their hands. In a great number of boroughs the suffrage, as we have seen, was practically all but universal; all inhabitant householders not receiving alms very frequently had votes. What is now so much desired, the representation of the working-classes then really existed. In Stafford, in Coventry, and in other places, the lowest classes were preponderant. Those classes had then the means of making their voice heard, and their sentiments known, in Parliament. They had some influence in the State, though they did not rule the State. In theory our constitution was at that time in this point perfect. As we read the description of it, we believe that nothing could be better. In practice it was a failure. The trial of the experiment demonstrated that it is useless to provide means for expressing the political thoughts of classes who have no such thoughts. The freemen of Stafford and Coventry did not send to Parliament members who really and truly expressed the opinions and sentiments of the working-classes, because the working-classes had no opinion on matters of legislation and administration, and had only vague ideas of what was passing in their time. For

the most part, they used the power which was given to them, not as an opportunity of influence, but as a source of income. They did not think of it as something by which they could control the rich, but as something which they could sell to the rich. Sheridan has left an amusing document as to the constituency of Stafford. They probably did not expect that so unbusinesslike a person should have preserved so businesslike a document; but it is as follows:

R. B. Sheridan, Esq. Expenses at the Borough of Stafford for Election anno 1784.

248 Burgesses, paid £5 5 0 each . . . £1302 0 0

Yearly Expenses since.

	£	s.	d.
House-rent and taxes . . .	23	6	6
Servant at 6s. per week } board wages }	15	12	0
Ditto, yearly wages	8	8	0
Coals, &c.	10	0	0
	<hr/> 57 6 6		
Alc-tickets	40	0	0
Half the member's plate . .	25	0	0
Swearing young burgesses .	10	0	0
Subscription to the Infirmary	5	5	0
Ditto clergymen's widows .	2	2	0
Ringers	4	4	0
	<hr/> 86 11 0		
One year	143	17	6
Multiplied by years			6
	<hr/> 863 5 0		
Total expense of six years' parliament, exclusive of expense incurred during the time of election and your own annual expenses	<hr/> £2165 5 0		

Corruption of this kind, and perhaps sometimes greater in degree, prevailed in almost every town in which the suffrage was very extended. As the wealth of the country grew, the price of votes became greater. If the old system of representation had endured till now, we can scarcely estimate how great it would by this time have become. Experience proved what our theories suggest, that the enfranchisement of the corruptible is in truth the establishment of corruption.

In one respect, however, the representation of the working-classes which we formerly had in this country may be considered to have been successful. The towns in which the suffrage was practically universal at times sent to the House of Commons,

not spokesmen of their own grievances, but spokesmen of grievances in general. Sir Francis Burdett is but the type, and the best-known instance, of a whole class of members who, in former times, were always ready to state any one's complaints, without much inquiry whether they were true; to bring forward a case, without much asking whether it were very well founded; to make a general declamation about the sufferings of the country which was a kind of *caveat* against abuses in general, and might be construed as a protest against any particular one which chanced to occur. Such indiscriminating and vague invectives had their use. They prevented gross instances of administrative harshness—at least they tended to prevent them. They prevented the air of politics from becoming stagnant; they broke the monotony of class domination. But it may be questioned whether, on the whole, their influence was beneficial. These reckless orators had but little moral weight; they were too ready with their statements to have them trusted, they were too indiscriminating in their objections for those objections to have influence. A weak Opposition is commonly said to be more advantageous to a government than no Opposition at all; it gives an impression to the public that all which can be said against the plans of the Cabinet has been said; it gives an impression that what is unchecked is checked, that what is uncontrolled is controlled. It diminishes the practical responsibility of an administration, by diminishing the popular conception of its power. In the same way, the vague demagogues who occasionally appeared in the old House of Commons did not weaken the substantial power of the classes that ruled there. They were "her majesty's" objectors. It was their province to say that whatever was done was done wrong. It was not therefore of much consequence what the administration did. They were sure of its being opposed, they were sure of its being carried; and they had therefore the advantage of complete power without the odium of enforcing silence. A despotism disguised in this manner is perhaps more uncontrolled than any other despotism:—such, however, was the mode in which the attempt of our old system of representation to give special members to the lowest classes really operated. It failed in what may be considered its characteristic function. The ideas of the lowest classes on politics were still unheard in the legislature, because those classes had no ideas. A confused popular feeling sometimes sent popular orators to Parliament. But the kind of indiscriminate objection and monotonous invective which those orators without ceasing made use of, seem to have been rather an assistance than an obstruction to the governing classes. The lesson of the whole history indubitably is, that it is in vain to

lower the level of political representation beneath the level of political capacity; that below that level you may easily give nominal power, but cannot possibly give real power; that at best you give a vague voice to an unreasoning instinct, that in general you only give the corruptible an opportunity to become corrupt.

It is often said, and commonly believed, that the old system of representation secured, under almost all circumstances, the existence and the continuance of what is called a strong government: it is believed that under that system the administration of the day had almost always the power to carry any legislative measure which it deemed beneficial, and to do any executive act which it might think fit. History, however, when it is accurately reviewed, affords little or no confirmation of this idea. Many parts of the history of England during the existence of our old constitution bear, on the very face of them, the most conspicuous evidence that there was then no security for the existence of a strong executive government. Many administrations during the last century, so far from being preëminently powerful, were not moderately coherent. The earlier part of George the Third's reign is simply the history of a series of feeble governments, which had little power to act as they intended, or to legislate as they desired. The traditional notion of the strength of governments in former times is founded upon the enormous strength of the administrations which successively directed the long struggle with France and Napoleon. The French revolution frightened the English nation; it haunted the people of that generation so much, that they could not look any where but they imagined that they saw the traces of it. Priestley interpreted the prophecies by means of it; Mitford wrote Grecian history by the aid of it. If its effect was so striking in the out-of-the-way parts of literature, in politics its effect might well be expected to be extreme. It *was* extreme. The English people were terrified into unity. They ceased to be divided into parliamentary sections, as their fathers were divided, or as their grandchildren are now divided. The process by which the unanimity of the nation created a corresponding unanimity in the House of Commons was simple and was effectual. The noblemen and gentlemen who had the greatest influence in the counties, and a certain number of whom were proprietors of boroughs,—the class which, as we have seen, had a despotic control over the House of Commons as it then was,—felt the antipathy to French principles as much as any other class; perhaps they did not feel it more, though some persons have thought they did, than the rest of the nation; but they undoubtedly did not feel it less. The Parliament was as united in its

dislike to Jacobinism, and in its resistance to Napoleon, as the nation was; and it could not be more so. The large majorities, therefore, of the administrations of Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool, are not attributable to any peculiar excellence in the parliamentary constitution of that period; any tolerable system of parliamentary representation would equally have produced them; the country was too united for even an approximate representation of it not to be so.

It is undoubtedly, however, believed by very many persons that the old system of representation contained a peculiar machinery for securing the strength of the executive. This theory, it has been well observed, constituted the "esoteric doctrine of the Tory party." The celebrated question asked by the Duke of Wellington, "How is the king's government to be carried on if the bill passes?" which has since received a practical answer, indicates without concealment the real view of English government entertained by him and his party. They held that if the majority of the House of Commons consisted of persons not nominated by great borough proprietors, but freely chosen by genuine popular election, the government could not be carried on. They believed it to be necessary that a government should repose upon an immovable phalanx of members for close boroughs; and that the members returned for open seats should be a minority, who would confine themselves to criticising the government in their speeches, without being able to shake its stability by their votes.* In this conception there was, indeed, an obvious difficulty: it provided that a large majority in Parliament should be always maintained by the close union of the members for the smaller boroughs. But who was to keep those members themselves united? They represented only the proprietors of their respective seats; and who was to keep either them or those proprietors always of one mind? If the nation at large was divided, why should not these persons partake of the division? The advocates of this theory had a ready answer; they said that the proprietors of the boroughs, and the members for them, were to be kept on the side of the government by means of the patronage of the government; they thought that places should be offered to the borough owners and to the borough members for their friends and for themselves; and that in this way they might be kept united, and be always induced to support the administration. This theory was not a theory merely; it was reduced to practice by several prime ministers,—by the Duke of Newcastle, by Sir Robert Walpole, and by others. Those who tried it had undoubtedly a great advantage; they had the materials that were needful, they had the patronage. We have

* *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1859.

no space to inquire how the establishments of the last century came to be so cumbrous; but most cumbrous they were. We are amazed nowadays at the names of the old sinecures, at the number of half-useless places, at what seems the childish lavishness of the public offices; but this profusion, though not perhaps created for a purpose, was used for a purpose. Old feudal offices, which had once served to mark the favour or the gratitude of the Crown, were employed as a kind of purchase-money to buy the adhesion of parliamentary proprietors: titles in the peerage, too, were used to the same end; all the available resources of the age were, in truth, concentrated upon it. In part this consistent exertion of very great means of influence was effectual; sometimes it really did make a government strong; and some writers, who have not duly weighed the facts of history, have believed that it always must do so: but there are in its very nature three fundamental defects, which must always hinder its working for a long period with constant efficiency.

In the first place, the theory of this machinery is that the patronage of the Crown is to be used to purchase votes. But *who* is to use the patronage? The theory assumes that it is to be used by the minister of the day. According to it, the head of the party which is predominant in Parliament is to employ the patronage of the Crown for the purpose of confirming that predominance. But suppose that the Crown chooses to object to this; suppose that the king for the time being should say, "This patronage is mine; the places in question are places in my service; the pensions in question are pensions from me: I will myself have at least some share in the influence that is acquired by the conferring of those pensions, and the distribution of those places." George III. actually did say this. He was a king in one respect among a thousand; he was willing to do the work of a Secretary of the Treasury; his letters for very many years are filled with the petty details of patronage; he directed who should have what, and stipulated who should not have any thing. This interference of the king must evidently in theory, and did certainly in fact, destroy the efficiency of the alleged expedient. Very much of the patronage of the Crown went, not to the adherents of the prime minister, because they were his adherents, but to the king's friends, because they were his friends. Many writers have been very severe on George III. for taking the course which he did take, and have frequently repeated the well-known maxims, which show that what he did was a deviation from the constitution. Very likely it was, but what is the use of a constitution which takes no account of the ordinary motives of human nature? It was inevitable that an ambitious king, who had industry enough to act as he did,

would so act. Let us consider his position. He was invested with authority which was apparently great. He was surrounded by noblemen and gentlemen who passed their life in paying him homage, and in professing perhaps excessive doctrines of loyal obedience to him. When the Duke of Devonshire, or the Duke of Bedford, or the Duke of Newcastle, approached the royal closet, they implied by words and manners that he had immeasurably more power than they had. In fact it was expected that he should have immeasurably less. It was expected that, though these noblemen daily acknowledged that he was their superior, he should constantly act as if he were their inferior. The prime minister was in reality appointed by them, and it was expected that the king should do what the prime minister told him; that he should assent to measures on which he was not consulted; that he should make peace when Mr. Grenville said peace was right; that he should make war whenever Mr. Grenville said war was right; that he should allow the offices of his household and the dignities of his court to be used as a means for the support of cabinets whose members he disliked, and whose policy he disapproved of. It is evident that no man who was not imbecile would be content with such a position. It is not difficult to bear to be without power, it is not very difficult to bear to have only the mockery of power; but it is unbearable to have real power, and to be told that you must content yourself with the mockery of it; it is unendurable to have in your hands an effectual instrument of substantial influence, and also to act day by day as a pageant, without any influence whatever. Human nature has never endured this, and we may be quite sure that it never will endure it. It is a fundamental error in the "esoteric theory" of the Tory party, that it assumed the king and the prime minister to be always of the same mind, while they often were of different minds.

A still more remarkable defect in the so-called strength procured under the old system of representation by the use of patronage was the *instability* of that strength. It especially failed at the moment at which it was especially wanted. A majority in Parliament which is united by a sincere opinion, and is combined to carry out that opinion, is in some sense secure. As long as that opinion is unchanged, it will remain; it can only be destroyed by weakening the conviction which binds it together. A majority which is obtained by the employment of patronage is very different; it is combined mainly by an *expectation*. Sir Robert Walpole, the great master in the art of dispensing patronage, defined gratitude as an anticipation of future favours; he meant that the majority which maintained his administration was collected, not by recollec-

tion, but by hope; they thought not so much of favours which were past as of favours which were to come. At a critical moment this bond of union was ordinarily weak. If the minister of the day should fail, he would confer favours no longer; the patronage that was coveted would pass into the gift of the minister who succeeded him. The expectation upon which a minister's strength under the old system of representation was based, varied, therefore, with the expectation that he would succeed. It was most potent when it was certain that the minister would be victorious; it was weak and hesitating when it was dubious whether he might not be beaten and retire. In other words, that source of strength was prolific when it was not wanted; when it was wanted, it was scarcely perceptible. In a time of doubt and difficulty every member of such a majority inevitably distrusted his neighbour. If others deserted the government, his support would be useless to the minister, and pernicious to himself. A man who wanted places would wish to support, not the administration which was about to go out, but the administration which was just coming in. A curious example of this tendency is preserved in the memoirs of Lord Rockingham. "I will go through," said the Duke of Newcastle, the minister who was just going out,—*"I will go through the elections as well as I can, and endeavour to see what they (the Court) really intend. I think it is too late for them to do any mischief. They may be disagreeable, and defeat some of our friends, and act directly contrary to what they promised; but they can't now alter the tone and complexion of the new Parliament: that is all settled; and so far my staying in to this time has been of use."* On the above letter the second Lord Hardwicke has made the following remark: *"Notwithstanding the choice of the Parliament, which the Duke of Newcastle piques himself upon, they forsook him for Lord Bute when his standard was set up."* Lord Bute was of course the minister who was about to come in, and who, after a very brief interval, did come in. In like manner, much of the strength of Sir Robert Walpole passed to Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Addington succeeded to much of Mr. Pitt's. In these cases, as soon as it became pretty clear that the minister of the day would cease soon to be such, almost all the parliamentary following which was procured by the expectation of receiving from him places and pensions very rapidly melted away.

It was of course still more certain that when the minister of the day had really ceased to be minister, and was not likely to return, no one thought much about him. The power that was gained by the use of patronage was not only unstable in

the popular sense of being weak and easily overthrown, but it was unstable also in the peculiar sense in which the mathematicians use that word ; for when overthrown, it was very difficult to set it up again. It had not any intrinsic tendency to return of itself to the state of equilibrium. The best example of this is to be found in one of the features of the old system of representation which is most frequently regarded as strengthening the government. There were some sixteen boroughs called Treasury boroughs, in which there were dockyards or other government establishments, and in which the administration for the time being had, as such, a predominant influence. These sixteen boroughs ensured the minister who was in power at each parliamentary election thirty-two votes. But the singular insecurity of such a source of strength is very clear. The existence of it was a premium upon dissolutions. A new administration could certainly count in a new Parliament on diminishing their adversaries' strength by thirty-two votes, and on augmenting their own strength by thirty-two also. When parties were equally divided, such a foundation of power could not but be weak. A minister might possess it to-day ; but if his adversary should come in and dissolve, it would cease to aid him, and begin to aid that adversary.*

This characteristic instability of a majority procured by patronage inevitably weakened the confidence of a prime minister in a struggle with the Crown. Theoretical writers have often blamed the successive prime ministers of George III. for permitting him to interfere with the distribution of what was, by the ordinary theory of the constitution, their patronage. But they could not help it. The king had at critical moments the power of saying who should be minister. He could at least, in

* The following is the list given of the government boroughs :

<i>Treasury.</i>	
Dartmouth	2
Dover	1
Harwich	2
Hythe	2
Windsor	1
Hampshire	2
Yarmouth (Norfolk)	1
<i>Admiralty.</i>	
Queenborough	1
Rochester	1
Sandwich	2
<i>Ordnance.</i>	
Queensborough	1

Total number of members returned by government in England and Wales only 16

The whole representation of Scotland was in much the same position.

times when the divisions were close and the government was weak, at any moment transfer the *purchasing power* from the head of the administration to the leader of the opposition. It was in consequence impossible for any minister on dubious occasions to refuse the king a share in the patronage. If he did not concede some of it, he would in all likelihood lose the whole of it.

A third inherent defect in the administrative strength obtained by the use of patronage is its certain unpopularity. Mankind call it corruption. Refined reasoners may prove, or fancy they prove, that it is desirable; they may demonstrate that it is possibly in some degree inevitable; but they will never induce ordinary men to like it. Of all governments, it is the least impressive to the popular imagination. It seems not only to have vice for its adjunct, but vice for its principle. All governments are feeble which cannot appeal with confidence to the moral instincts of their subjects; but it appears almost impudent in this one to attempt to do so. It exists because it has successfully applied bad motives to men susceptible of bad motives. As the secret of its power appears to be base, it loses its hold over the loyalty of mankind. We have seen this exemplified in a conspicuous instance in France. The monarchy of Louis Philippe was weak because it was believed to be maintained by bribery and to be supported from immoral motives. The same cause long weakened, and was at last the chief agent in destroying, the long, prosperous, and able ministry of Sir Robert Walpole. It was to no purpose that he governed well; it was to no purpose that he administered general affairs consummately, or that he regulated the finances wisely,—it was to no purpose that he showed that those who opposed him were impelled to do so by very mean motives: no defensive considerations availed him. It was believed that his government was maintained by corruption, and a kind of disgust gradually grew up towards it, long impaired, and at length annihilated it. Every government under the old system of representation that continued long in office was sure to contract this stain; that of Lord Liverpool did not escape it. There were sure to be some instances of misapplied patronage, which inevitably incurred the censure, and irritated the feelings, of thinking men. This unpopularity is a source of more continued weakness to a government than would be at first sight imagined. It might be thought that an administration with plenty of votes would have plenty of courage, but it is not so. A certain timidity belongs to all oligarchies, and to an unpopular oligarchy, to an oligarchy that is believed to rest upon corruption, above all. It is timid at every outcry, and it yields whenever it can. In the

plenitude of power Sir Robert Walpole did not press his excise scheme, though it was a wise one, and though he was sure that it was so; he felt that at a crisis he was weak, that the popular odium was not compensated by parliamentary support. Make what refined devices we may, in every free government any strong opinion that possesses the multitude will be powerful; it will not be least powerful where the government is conscious that it rests upon a basis which is odious to common men, and which therefore shuns a popular scrutiny.

For these reasons, therefore, we think, when the subject is accurately examined, the supposed strength which the administrations of the last century are commonly said to have derived from the employment of patronage was a strength rather seeming than substantial. It added to the strength of administrations otherwise strong, and that did not need it; but it was not in its nature to strengthen those which were weak, or to aid, as it is sometimes believed to have aided, tottering administrations at a fatal division.

But even for this strength, such as it was, the people of the last century paid a very heavy price. They purchased it by the almost total sacrifice of efficiency in administration. We can hardly at the present day conceive how utterly feeble that administration formerly was. Nor have we space to go into the details of the subject. But one test on the subject may be easily used; we mean, the test of success. Our administrative system was subjected in the last century to three of the most searching tests of efficiency. It was tried by a riot, by a rebellion within the island, by the resistance of our greatest colonies. If any events can bring out the latent vigour of an administration, these would probably bring it out. They did not, however, do so. We all know the utter feebleness and miserable inefficiency with which the mobs of 1780 were resisted, if resistance it can be called. We know that London was then almost as much at the mercy of its worst inhabitants as Paris has ever been. But it is not so generally known that similar events nearly as bad, though not quite as bad, had happened before; but they did happen. In Hume's *Correspondence* there is a curious description of the riots of 1765: "Another very extraordinary event is the riot which the silk-weavers have made for some days past. They got a bill passed in the House of Commons to prevent more effectually the importation of foreign silks, which the Duke of Bedford threw out in the House of Lords. The next day, above ten thousand of these people came down to the House, desiring redress, with drums beating and colours flying. They attacked the Duke of Bedford in his chariot, and threw so large a stone

at him, that if he had not put out his hand, and saved his head by having his thumb cut to the bone, he must have been killed. He behaved with great resolution, and got free of them; since which time he has remained blockaded in his own house, and defended by the troops. Yesterday the same number of weavers assembled again at the House of Lords, where the horse and foot guards were to secure the entry for the Peers. The mob were ranged before the soldiers, and their colours were playing in the faces of his majesty's troops. The degree of security with which these people commit felony seems to me the most formidable circumstance in the whole: they carry in their whole deportment so much tranquillity and ease, that they do not seem apprised of the illegality of their proceedings. It is really serious to see the legislature of this country intimidated by such a rabble; and to see the House of Lords send for Justice Fielding, to hear him prove for how many reasons he ought not to do his duty. The Duke of Bedford is still in danger of his life if he goes out of his house; and we expect to see the same number of people assembled every day, till something more vigorous is done than any one has yet chosen to propose. The spirit of robbing has gone forth in this nation to a degree that we have not experienced this century past, and it will not be found so easy a matter to quell it" (pp. 55, 56).

No description can be more graphic of the weakness of a feeble administration, unmoved by evident danger. We need not dwell on the other instances of inefficiency to which we have alluded. In 1745, the administration of the day—a divided and discordant administration, it is true—permitted a small body of half-disciplined Highlanders to advance into the centre of England. So imperfect were their arrangements, that some good judges of evidence have thought that if Charles Edward had pushed on towards London, he might have succeeded in taking it. The war with our North-American Colonies was conducted with as little wisdom and energy; it could not be with less. The whole strength of the empire was never put forth; and historians have often wondered at the series of petty expeditions and inconclusive conflicts, with which so great a country as England endeavoured to reduce so great a country as America. Lord North's government was perhaps somewhat feebler than many of the governments of the last century; but even if so, it is only because it exhibits the characteristic defects belonging to them all in a conspicuous and aggravated form. It was not exceptionally inefficient, but characteristically inefficient.

The explanation of this inefficiency is simple. It was caused by the abuse of patronage; or rather, to speak the language of

the old Tory theory, by *the use* of it to bribe members of parliament and proprietors of boroughs. George II. is reported to have said to Sir Robert Walpole, "I won't have my army jobbed away for your members: it shan't be." It had been, however; and the state of the English army at the commencement of the long war with France is a conclusive proof of it. Burke, in his speech on economical reform, has explained this point with more humour than is usual with him:

"There was another disaster far more doleful than this. I shall state it, as the cause of that misfortune lies at the bottom of almost all our prodigality. Lord Talbot attempted to reform the kitchen; but such, as he well observed, is the consequence of having duty done by one person, whilst another enjoys the emoluments, that he found himself frustrated in all his designs. On that rock his whole adventure split—his whole scheme of economy was dashed to pieces; his department became more expensive than ever; the Civil-List debt accumulated—why? It was truly from a cause which, though perfectly adequate to the effect, one would not have instantly guessed—it was because *the turnspit in the king's kitchen was a member of parliament*.* The king's domestic servants were all undone; his tradesmen remained unpaid and became bankrupt—because *the turnspit in the king's kitchen was a member of parliament*. His majesty's slumbers were interrupted, his pillow was stuffed with thorns, and his peace of mind entirely broken—because *the king's turnspit was a member of parliament*. The judges were unpaid, the justice of the kingdom bent and gave way, the foreign ministers remained inactive and unprovided; the system of Europe was dissolved; the chain of our alliances was broken; all the wheels of government at home and abroad were stopped—because *the king's turnspit was a member of parliament*." The efficiency of the public offices was sacrificed, in order that the best posts in them might be better used as parliamentary purchase-money. It would have been a heavy price to pay even for a government that was really strong.

It is curious, that though under our old constitution so heavy a price was paid for parliamentary support, and so little support was at critical moments obtained by that price, the governments of that day did very little with the strength which they so bought, after they had bought it. We nowadays consider that the first use which a prime minister will make of a large majority, is to legislate with it. In the last century men did not think so. Lord John Russell justly said in the House of Commons, that there was no statute, no act of

* "Vide Lord Talbot's speech, in Almond's *Parliamentary Register*, vol. vii. p. 79, of the proceedings of the Lords."

legislation, which we can connect with or can trace to Lord Chatham, who was the most celebrated minister of England during the last century. There have been a greater number of important Acts of Parliament passed in the last twenty years than in the previous hundred and twenty. The people of England, a hundred years ago, and their Parliament also, were habitually satisfied with their existing institutions: they did not care to abolish any of these, or to introduce any new ones. Accordingly, when the minister at that time had bought his majority, he had nothing to do with it except to keep himself minister.

On the whole, therefore, we do not think that our old system of representation is entitled to the credit, which it has often received, for causing and maintaining strong administrations. The ingenious devices which it contained seem to us to have failed whenever they were really wanted; and we conclude, from the entire history of the last century, that governments were then only strong when public opinion was definite and decided, and when that is so they will be strong now.

The only one of our questions as to our old system of representation that is still unanswered is, What was the degree of its suitability for training and developing statesmen? Lord Macaulay has in more than one part of his writings expressed a doubt whether all representative systems are not in this respect defective. They require, he says, that an influential statesman should be an orator, and especially a ready and debating orator; and this he considers is inexpedient. He appears to believe, both that the practice of debating injures the intellect, and that the conviction of its necessity makes a statesman prize and practise qualities which are not essential to his true calling in preference to those which really are so. He believes that the statesman is induced to think more of the House of Commons, and of the effect which his measures would produce there, than is desirable; and also that the habit of defending those measures by very questionable arguments disorganises the intellect of a statesman and renders it much less fit than it would otherwise be for the investigation of important truths. There is doubtless some truth in these ideas; the practical working of a representative government often tends to produce these hurtful effects upon the minds of the statesmen who are eminent under it. And not only so. All free governments are to some extent unfavourable to much originality of mind in their influential statesmen. They necessitate an appeal to the people; and the mind of the people is almost by definition ordinary and commonplace. The opinions of the majority of mankind almost necessarily partake of these qualities; and those who have to please

that majority must in all ages, to some extent, cultivate them. And these are serious disadvantages. But, on the other hand, it may be fairly believed that no system which has yet been devised secures for the most eminent statesmen in a nation so large a number of great qualities as are necessary for the prime minister under a well-developed system of parliamentary government. It is true, that a man who is eminent in that position may not be in the least eminent in abstract or original reflection; it is possible that he may be beneath the average capacity of men in that respect. But, on the other hand, this defect is not peculiar to a parliamentary system of government. No device has yet been suggested for securing the supremacy in the state to persons capable of original thought. A prime minister under a parliamentary constitution must have a very great number of other great qualities. He must be a man of business long trained in great affairs; he must be, if not a great orator, a great explainer; he must be able to expound with perspicuity to a mixed assembly complicated measures and involved transactions; he must be a great party leader, and have the knowledge of men, the easy use of men, and the miscellaneous sagacity, which such eminence necessarily implies; he must be a ready man, a managing man, and an intelligible man: and under no other system of government with which we are acquainted is there any security that all these, or an equal number of other, important qualities will constantly be found in the ruler of a nation. All these qualities the system of representation which existed in England during the last century secured to the utmost. We might easily run over the names of the eminent statesmen whom it produced: but it is needless; we know that they were eminent, and we know that they were many.

A claim has often been made on behalf of the old close boroughs, that the number and the greatness of these statesmen is due to them. A very long list of the names of the statesmen who were brought into Parliament during the last century by those boroughs is set forth, and it is alleged that the excellence of these great statesmen was a conspicuous advantage which resulted from the machinery that introduced them to public life. But to this argument there will be found, when the subject is narrowly examined, to be several important qualifications.

In the first place, a great number of remarkable men undoubtedly came into Parliament under the old system of representation by means of the close boroughs, simply and solely because that was at that time the readiest and simplest mode of coming in. If any other mode had been the readiest, they would have availed themselves of that instead. Take the case

of Sir Robert Walpole. Had any man that ever lived more of the qualities, the good and the bad qualities, of a great popular candidate? He was genial, sagacious, and unsensitive. He would have managed the mob, and managed the attorney, and managed the electors, better almost than any other of our remarkable statesmen; yet he came in for a close borough. Circumstances threw that mode of entering public life into his path, and he took advantage of it immediately; but if the system of representation then prevailing in England had been a different one, he would have taken advantage of that also. We must not give the close boroughs a peculiar credit for all the eminent statesmen who entered into the House of Commons by means of them, but only for such of the great statesmen as, from the nature of their mind and the peculiarity of their circumstances, would most likely not have entered Parliament in any other way; and these are not many.

This is one great qualification. A still more important one remains. A great number of able men came into Parliament formerly who do not appear there now, because there was a motive to enter it at that time which does not now exist. Public life was in the last century not only a career, but a livelihood. It was possible to make a subsistence, and even a fortune, by it. Take the case of the first Lord Liverpool: he was a man of no extraordinary genius or unequalled abilities; he was simply a man of plain, strong, ordinary understanding; he had good sense, and good habits of business: he had no qualities which a very great number of young men in every generation may not be sure that they have. Nevertheless he began life with scarcely any money, he passed a long life in the service of the State, he lived in affluence, and he provided amply for his family. The possibility of such a career could not but render public life in the highest degree attractive. Fortune as well as fame were, it was evident, to be obtained in it by sound abilities and good management. In consequence, a very great number of young men were glad to enter Parliament; and if the same incentives had been continued to the present day, when education is so much more general, and social advantages so much more diffused, it is difficult to say how much that number might not have been by this time augmented. If the places and pensions, the patent offices and the sinecures, from which the profitableness of public life was derived, were still in existence, very many of the ablest, the most cultivated, and the most interesting young men in every generation would be desirous to enter Parliament. They would throng any avenue which was open for their purpose; they would address, and perhaps not unsuccessfully, the electors of

boroughs, whether small or large ; they would attempt to gain a share of our county representation, exclusive as that still in some degree is. We perhaps are not likely to see again in England a time when public life will afford the means of subsistence, as well as the opportunities of ambition. We do not, on the whole, regret the change that has taken place. We do not say that it should be lamented ; but it has its disadvantages. The public cannot expect to be so well served by its statesmen now that it is served gratuitously, as it was when it paid highly for their services. Instead of the number of remarkable statesmen who were introduced into the House of Commons by means of the close boroughs being so great as to excite our wonder, we may rather be surprised that it was not greater. The incentives to a public career were then so strong, that we may wonder that more remarkable persons did not enter upon it. The close boroughs must have been almost as much an impediment as an aid, or the number of statesmen attracted in the last century to the service of the nation must have been much larger than in fact it was.

Such was in part the case. The close boroughs did not, in truth, introduce conscientious and scrupulous men to an attractive position in public life. The position of a member nominated to the representation of a close borough by its proprietor was a position of dependence. He was an *employé*. He had to vote as often as, and just as, the owner of the borough told him. If he did not do so, he might at the next election be excluded entirely from public life, or be obliged to search through the list of the borough-owners for a new patron. Even when the member for a close borough was permitted to exercise his own judgment, the public would scarcely believe that he was so. They attributed all which he did to the influence of the proprietor of his seat ; and if there chanced to be an apparent difference of opinion, they were more disposed to attribute some sinister design to the owner of the borough than any substantial independence to the member for it. The votes of a nominated member were not regarded as his own, even when in fact they were so. As we might expect, persons of high character and sensitive nature shrank from this dependence. They could not endure that it should be said that they had no control over the course which they adopted in politics ; the possibility of the supposition that they must vote according to the edict of some one else was nearly as odious as the having so to vote. A curious example of this inevitable tendency in men of high and susceptible natures may be found in the life of Sir Samuel Romilly. He avowedly preferred the purchase of a seat to a position in which he might

be imagined to be dependent. He preferred to be the member for a borough which was publicly known to be commonly venal, to being the member for a borough of which a nobleman or gentleman who took a genuine interest in politics was the proprietor. He preferred its being known that he had bought his seat, to the possibility of a suspicion that he held it upon a tenure of base service. In very many cases, which cannot now be known by us, an analogous feeling must have prevented shrinking and delicate men from occupying the seats for rotten boroughs, or from associating with the great noblemen who owned them. Aristocratic patronage is never very pleasant to men of this character; and it is unendurable to them that such patronage should be the basis of their career, and an essential pre-requisite to their habitual life. Exceptional instances apart, the close boroughs were rather an obstruction than an opening to persons of original minds and delicate dispositions.

Nor was it natural that the owners of boroughs should commonly desire to introduce such men. If these proprietors had views of their own, they selected men who would give effect to those views; and these would ordinarily be men of pliant characters and unsuggestive intellects. If such proprietors had no opinion, they ordinarily put the seat up to auction in the market, and got as much money as they could get for it. Nor, in the few cases in which great noblemen introduced men of the highest order of minds into Parliament, and in which they treated them with tenderness and delicacy, were they by any means disposed to admit them to an equality with themselves, or with the near connections of great families. They reserved high office as much as possible for themselves, and for those who mingled by birth in their own society; and believed that they had done much in giving the opportunity of a public career and the profit of a minor place to able men of humbler station whom they had brought into the House of Commons. The Rockingham party, the best party that ever was composed of the associated proprietors of close boroughs, thus treated Mr. Burke, who was the greatest man who ever sat for a close borough. We cannot but be indignant at such conduct; we cannot help saying that it showed high-bred exclusiveness, and aristocratic narrowness of mind: but we also cannot help perceiving that it was natural. The same thing would be sure to happen again in any similar circumstances. The owners of seats inevitably believed that they were theirs; that they, and that men of their family and their station, had an evident right to enjoy whatever was most desirable in the consequences of them. They believed that they had a right to their own, and

to all it produced. Historians may lament that Lord John Cavendish was preferred to Mr. Burke; but if the old system of representation were once more re-established, a similar phenomenon would happen again: the near connections of the large proprietors of parliamentary property would again be preferred by those proprietors to all others. The universal tendencies of human nature ensure that it should be so.

On the other hand, although the close boroughs did not aid men of able minds and sensitive natures in the entrance to public life, they did aid men of able minds and coarse natures. The latter were willing to be dependents, and were able to be serviceable dependents; they were inclined to be slaves, and were able to be useful slaves. The pecuniary profits derivable from a public career, the places and pensions open to and readily obtainable by an able public man, brought a large number of such men into Parliament. We need not cite many instances, for the fact is evident. The entire history of the last century is full of such men,—as Mr. Rigby, as the first Lord Holland, as Bubb Dodington. The suspicion of dependence, and the reality of aristocratic patronage, were easily endured by men of covetous dispositions and vulgar characters: they only desired to have as much as possible of whatever profits were obtainable, and whatsoever the path to great profits might be, that was the road for them. And independently of these extreme cases, the close boroughs tended to fill the House of Commons with men of commonplace opinions and yielding characters, who accepted the creed of their patron very easily, and without, in all ordinary cases, any conscious suppression of their own. Their preferences were so languid, that they were not conscious of relinquishing them. The facile flexibility of decorous mediocrity is one of the most obvious facts of human nature; and it is one of the most valuable facts, for without it the requisite union of great political parties would scarcely be attainable.

Such and so great seem to us the deductions which are to be made from the common belief that the close boroughs tended to open the House of Commons to men of original minds and refined dispositions. They are so great, as to make it dubious whether that observation has even a nucleus of truth; they indisputably show that in its ordinary form it is an extreme exaggeration; and they suggest a doubt whether as much or more may not be said for the very opposite of it.

We have now, therefore, completed our long investigation. We have inquired whether our old system of parliamentary representation did or did not give us a Parliament substantially accordant with the true public opinion of the English nation; whether it gave, to all classes who had political ideas to express,

the means of expressing them; whether it had any peculiar tendency to ensure to us a succession of strong administrations; whether it had any peculiar tendency to produce great and original statesmen. What, then, are the results which we have learned from this investigation? What are the lessons which this remarkable history, when it is examined, tends to teach us?

First, we should learn from it to distrust complicated expedients for making strong administrations, and refined expedients for producing wise and able statesmen. The sole security upon which we can depend for a strong government is a consistent union in the nation. If we have that, under any tolerable parliamentary system we shall have a strong government; and if we have not that, we shall not have a really strong government on ordinary occasions under any. The true security for having a sufficient supply of good statesmen is to maintain a sufficient supply of good constituencies. We need not regret the rotten boroughs, if we have instead of them an adequate number of tolerably educated and not too numerous constituencies, the great majority of the voters in which are reasonably independent and tolerably incorrupt. There was nothing in either of these two respects very valuable in our old system of representation. It did not secure to us an unusual number of coherent and powerful administrations; it did not of itself give us an exceptionally great number of able and honest statesmen.

Secondly, we should learn from the history of the last century that it is perfectly idle to attempt to give political power to persons who have no political capacity, who are not intellectual enough to form opinions, or who are not high-minded enough to act on those opinions. This proposition is admitted in words; every body says that it is a truism. But is it admitted in reality? Do not all the ordinary plans for a uniform extension of the suffrage practically deny it? Will not their inevitable effect be, in the smaller and poorer boroughs at least, to throw, or to attempt to throw, much power into the hands of voters who are sure to be ignorant, and who are almost sure to be corrupt?

Lastly, the events of the earlier part of the last century show us—demonstrate, we may say, to us—the necessity of retaining a very great share of power in the hands of the wealthier and more instructed classes—of the real rulers of public opinion. We have seen that we owe the security of our present constitutional freedom to the possession by these classes of that power: we have learned that under a more democratic system the House of Stuart might have been still upon the throne; that the will of the numerical majority in the nation would probably have placed it there, and would probably have

kept it there ; that the close boroughs of former times gave, in an indirect form and in an objectionable manner, the requisite influence to the instructed classes ; and we must infer, therefore, that we should be very cautious how we now proceed to found a new system, without any equivalent provision, and with no counterbalancing weight, to the scanty intelligence of very ordinary persons and to the unbridled passions of the multitude.

If we duly estimate the significance of these conclusions, we shall perhaps think that to have been once more reminded of them, at a critical instant, is a result of sufficient significance to justify this protracted investigation, and an adequate apology for the detail which has been necessary to render it intelligible.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER SUITABLE FOR READING-SOCIETIES.

The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Hon. George Rose, containing Original Letters of the most distinguished Statesmen of his day. Edited by the Rev. Leveson Vernon Harcourt. 2 vols. Bentley.

[This book does what it professes to do,—throw new lights on the character and career of many eminent statesmen,—and is therefore one of real historical value, and has much interesting political gossip. It is not well edited; and Mr. Rose himself is not a subject of much moral or ideal interest.]

Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington while Chief Secretary for Ireland, from 1807 to 1809. Murray.

[A work which, taken in conjunction with the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis recently published, presents a very curious picture of Irish politics at the time immediately preceding and succeeding the Union.]

Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew, with special reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times; being the Bampton Lectures for 1859. By the Rev. George Rawlinson. Murray.

On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin. Murray.

[Reviewed in Article VIII.]

Ishmael, or a Natural History of Islamism in relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. Mühleisen Arnold, formerly Church Missionary in Asia and Africa. Rivingtons.

A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions. By Captain M'Clintock, R.N., LL.D. With Maps and Illustrations. Murray.

[This bids fair to be the most popular, and deservedly popular, book of the season. It is very well and tastefully illustrated without colours.]

Schiller's Life and Works. By Emil Palleske. Translated by Lady Wallace. Longmans.

Lord Dundonald's Autobiography. 2 vols. Bentley.

The Friends, Foes, and Adventures of Lady Morgan. By W. J. Fitzpatrick. Simpkin and Marshall.

The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French of Guillaume de Guileville, and printed by Caxton in 1483; with Illuminations taken from the Ms. copy in the British Museum. Edited by Katharine Isabella Cust. Basil Montagu Pickering.

[A quaint book of much beauty, which was no doubt one of the sources from which Bunyan drew the conception of his "Pilgrim's Progress." It is embellished with the illuminations of the old copy in the British Museum; and, as a whole, will be found interesting quite beyond the circle of mere antiquarians.]

The Divine Life in Man. By the Rev. Baldwin Brown. Ward.

[Truly fine and thoughtful sermons,—given in a style at times something too ornate.]

Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. By the late Rev. F. W. Robertson.

[Though often very fragmentary, these reports of Mr. Robertson's Lectures on the Corinthians will not be amongst the least admired of his admirable sermons.]

The Peculum: an Endeavour to throw Light on some of the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends, especially in regard to its claim of being the peculiar People of God. By Thomas Hancock. Smith and Elder.

Quakerism, Past and Present; being an Inquiry into the Causes of its Decline in Great Britain and Ireland. By John Stephenson Rown-tree. Smith and Elder.

A Fallen Faith. By Dr. Sheppard. Piper, Stephenson, and Spence.

Miscellanies. By the Rev. Charles Kingsley. 2 vols. J. W. Parker.

[Noticed in Article L.]

Recreations of a Country Parson. J. W. Parker.

[A very agreeable chatty book, reprinted from "Fraser's Magazine."]

Poems, by the Author of "John Halifax." Hurst and Blackett.

Self-Help. By Samuel Smiles. Murray.

Women Artists. By Mrs. Ellet. Bentley.

[A book of good design, and showing not a little labour, but not very well executed; and containing, in some of the biographies, real trash.]

The West Indies and the Spanish Main. By Anthony Trollope. Chapman and Hall.

[An amusing, and in many respects an instructive, book, but one indicating very hasty judgment. Mr. Trollope's criticisms on the coloured population are untrue, and derived from hearsay.]

Heathen and Holy Lands; or, Sunny Days on the Salween, Nile, and Jordan. By Captain J. P. Briggs, Deputy Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Charge of Province Tavoy. Smith and Elder.

[The account of Burmah in this book, or rather of the Tenasserim provinces, is one of the most interesting results of travel that we have seen for a long time, at once fresh and thorough.]

Ceylon: an Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical. By Sir Emerson Tennent. Longmans.

New Zealand, Past and Present. By Dr. Thomson. Murray.

[Intended less for the colonist than the English reader, but a good book of its kind.]

A Visit to the Philippine Islands. By Sir John Bowring. Smith and Elder.

Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings round Lake Superior. By J. G. Kohl. Chapman and Hall.

District Duties during the Revolt in the North-West Provinces of India in 1857. By H. Dundas Robertson. Smith and Elder.

[An interesting book, of a somewhat too numerous species.]

Australian Facts and Prospects. By R. H. Horne. Smith and Elder.

[A book of useful caution against false conceptions of Australian life. The short autobiography is very lively.]

Rural Life in Bengal. Thacker.

[The illustrations convey the most faithful representation of rural life in Bengal that it is possible to conceive, and are exquisitely engraved. The descriptions, written from the factory of a gentleman deservedly known as "the model planter," are lively, and, on the whole, truthful, though somewhat *couleur de rose*.]

A Tale of Two Cities. By Charles Dickens. Chapman and Hall.

[Has more of the substantial power of Mr. Dickens's earlier works than any since "Martin Chuzzlewit." It is, however, unfortunately alloyed with the spasmodic sentiment and striving after effect of his later style.]

The Minister's Wooing. By Mrs. H. B. Stowe. Sampson Low.

[A tale of great power, humour, and broad genius, though a little spoiled with gushes of sentiment.]

The Day of Small Things. By the Authoress of "Mary Powell." 1 vol. Hall, Virtue, and Co.

Against Wind and Tide. By Holme Lee. Smith and Elder.

[Not equal to "Sylvan Holt's Daughter" in ability or finish. It is rather like steering "on a wind," to read it.]

A New Sentimental Journey. By Charles Allston Collins. Chapman and Hall.

Fables and Fairy Tales. By Henry Morley. Illustrated. Chapman and Hall.

The Nut-brown Maids; or, the first Hosier and his Hosen. A Family Chronicle of the Days of Queen Elizabeth. J. W. Parker.

[Too antiquarian, and in the "gramercy" style, as it has been called; but indicating some real artistic power stifled by these antiquities.]

Tales from Molière's Plays. By Dacre Barrett Lennard. Chapman and Hall.



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from the want of leisure or means, formed no habit and no appetite as yet for Daily newspaper reading. Hence the Weeklies not only greatly exceed in number the Dailies, but outstrip them in circulation to an incalculable extent. Second: the supplies provided for this great and growing demand are not in general such as enlightened, unsectarian Christian philanthropists can approve. The present Weeklies may be divided into three classes; first, the GROSSLY CORRUPT, which is the largest, and which, in the language of Forster, is like a "moral epidemic breathed from hell;" secondly, THE PURELY SECULAR, which, although characterised by great ability, and free from the baser elements of the former class, manifests no sympathy with that Gospel which alone can renovate society and free the race from its crimes, its oppressions, and its ills; and thirdly, THE DENOMINATIONALLY RELIGIOUS, which too often propounds Christian doctrines in the miserable spirit of sect, and thereby misrepresents the Divine genius of truth, and thwarts its spiritual design. It creates schisms among the good. One of the most illustrious of modern writers and eminent of modern clergymen, lately deceased, thus describes the sectarian newspaper:—"The organ of one party is established against the organ of another, and it is the recognized office of each to point out with microscopic care the names of those whose views are to be shunned; and in order that these may be the more shrunk from, the character of those who hold such opinions is traduced and vilified." He further adds, "That the mere sect journals prevent controversialists from seeing what is good in the opponent, attribute low motives to account for excellent lives, and teach men whom to suspect and shun, rather than point out where it is possible to admire and love."

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